This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

DA
565
.S4
A3
v.2,pt

MEMORIALS

PART II. PERSONAL AND POLITICAL

DA
565
.S4
A3
v.2, pt.

MEMORIALS

PART II. PERSONAL AND POLITICAL

UNIV. OF MICH.

MEMORIALS

PART II. PERSONAL AND POLITICAL

1865-1895

BY

ROUNDELL PALMER Selborne
EARL OF SELBORNE
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR

'For they that say such things declare plainly
that they seek a country.'

VOLUME II

London
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1898

All rights reserved

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XXIII

PAGE

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—THE TRANSVAAL—IRELAND: IRISH MEASURES—LAND ACT OF 1881—MY ILLNESS AND RECOVERY—LORD HATHERLEY—ARTHUR STANLEY—SIR WILLIAM HEATHCOTE. 1881 1

CHAPTER XXIV

IRISH AFFAIRS. 1882 39

CHAPTER XXV

EGYPT—JOHN BRIGHT—WILLIAM GEORGE WARD—SIR GEORGE GREY—DR. PUSEY—MILES PLATTING RITUAL CASE—ARCHBISHOP TAIT—OPENING OF NEW LAW COURTS—EARLDOM—MARRIAGE OF MY CHILDREN. 1882 64

CHAPTER XXVI

LOSSES TO THE LAW—POLITICS IN THE RECESS—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA. 1883 92

CHAPTER XXVII

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—THE SOUDAN AND GENERAL GORDON. 1884-1885 112

CHAPTER XXVIII

PAGE

LORD TENNYSON—BISHOPRIC OF SOUTHWELL—LORD CAIRNS—MY WIFE'S DEATH. 1884-1885 150

CHAPTER XXIX

MR. GLADSTONE'S RESIGNATION—BISHOP MOBERLY—STATE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY—THE CHURCH QUESTION—GENERAL ELECTION OF 1885. 1885 170

CHAPTER XXX

MR. GLADSTONE'S NEW IRISH POLICY—FORMATION OF HIS THIRD ADMINISTRATION—HIS BILLS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES. 1885-1886 193

CHAPTER XXXI

LOSSES OF FRIENDS—LORD CARDWELL—WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER—HOUSE OF LAYMEN—CHURCH DEFENCE—CARDINAL NEWMAN—EFFORTS IN THE UNIONIST CAUSE—WINCHESTER QUINCENTENARY. 1886-1887 241

CHAPTER XXXII

VISITS TO ITALY—LETTERS. 1887-1888 267

CHAPTER XXXIII

LETTERS. 1888-1889 297

CHAPTER XXXIV

LETTERS 1890—MR. GLADSTONE—WAITING FOR THE END . . 326

CHAPTER XXXV

PAGE

Letters 1891-1895—The End 364

In Memoriam 419

Appendix concerning Edwin Palmer, D.D., Archdeacon of Oxford 457

Translations and Adaptations by Lord Selborne . . 467

Index 491

ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME II

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SELBORNE (1894). From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry . . . . *Frontispiece*

THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE. From a Photograph by H. S. Mendelssohn (1885) . . . *To face page* 160

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SELBORNE. From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry (1895) . ,, ,, 364

THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON PALMER. From a Photograph by J. Russell and Sons . . ,, ,, 459

CHAPTER XXIII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—THE TRANSVAAL—IRELAND: IRISH MEASURES—LAND ACT OF 1881—MY ILLNESS AND RECOVERY—LORD HATHERLEY—ARTHUR STANLEY—SIR WILLIAM HEATHCOTE.

1881

WITH the legacy of unsettled foreign affairs, which the Government of Lord Beaconsfield had left us, we were enabled, with one exception, to deal successfully. It was not till later that we got into new entanglements of our own. We lost no time in obtaining for Greece that enlargement of her frontier of which a prospect had been held out by the Treaty of Berlin: and we brought to a satisfactory close the Afghan War, resisting strong pressure from many quarters to retain Candahar, and making a settlement of the internal government of Afghanistan which has lasted for nine years, and bids fair to continue for some time yet to come.

The exception was in the Transvaal, where an insurrection broke out in the autumn of 1880. The reasons for reversing the policy of our predecessors

there were strong; for Great Britain had entered into engagements, particularly by the Sand River Convention, which made the annexation of the Transvaal territory without the free-will and general consent of its people plainly unjustifiable. Lord Beaconsfield's Government had acted upon the supposition that there was that consent: but the course of subsequent events proved the contrary. It would have been well, if we had first tried negotiation; but in the face of an armed insurrection, the opposite course was natural, and seemed more safe. It was announced in the Queen's Speech, at the opening of the session of 1881, that "the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of Her authority had of necessity set aside, for the time, any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives, which Her Majesty had been desirous to confer." The wisdom of such resolutions depends altogether on the way in which they are acted on. To conduct a small war with a show of firmness and confidence upon an inadequate scale may be more dangerous to the moral influence of a great nation, than to avert the necessity for it by timely concession. So we found, in that instance. We undervalued our enemy, thought the suppression of the revolt easy, and suffered unexpected disasters; which increased rather than diminished the force of the reasons for vindicating the Queen's authority before anything else was done. Our troops were reinforced;

and it did not seem doubtful that, if the war continued, its fortunes would be changed. But in that state of things the Boers were naturally willing to negotiate; and the hatred of war which was felt by every member of the Cabinet, intensified by our consciousness that the Queen's authority in the Transvaal rested on no satisfactory foundation, made us decline the responsibility of shedding more blood, either for revenge or for the display of power. The negotiation ended in an arrangement by which enough power was reserved to the British Crown to fulfil our original conception of what was desirable, and to make the settlement, if it had been permanent, a good one. But it was not, nor did the Boers ever intend it to be, permanent; and before long it underwent a revision, which reduced to a mere name the form of British supremacy which had been retained. The war, however, was at an end; and if the circumstances were not gratifying to our national pride, it was enough, that the public conscience ratified the decision of the Government. There were reasons of policy as well as sentiment, which made for peace. There was a widespread sympathy with the Boers among the population of Dutch origin predominant in the Cape Colony and in the Orange Free State, and exercising throughout South Africa an important influence. A prolongation of the war might have made that sympathy a source of serious danger; the area of hostilities, and the consequences depending upon them, might have been formidably increased. These reasons added practical weight to the moral considera-

tions which pressed upon us. Of the soundness of the principle that the rule of moral obligation is as cogent in public as in private affairs, I have never doubted. But the rulers of a great country are trustees of its power and reputation, and cannot compromise them without risk of serious calamities; and to be faithful to that trust is itself a moral obligation. To reconcile that obligation with others which may appear to conflict with it is not always easy; and I felt the difficulty; not enough to prevent me from concurring in and vindicating the course which we took in coming to an agreement with the Boers as that most consistent with our duty, but enough to enable me to enter into the feelings of those who thought otherwise. Lord Cairns brought the subject before the House of Lords on the 31st March 1881, in the most eloquent speech which he ever made, condemning as dishonourable the circumstances and the terms of that agreement. But public opinion, upon the whole, was with us; and the time which he chose for bringing on that discussion was unfortunate, as the negotiation had not been brought to a conclusion, nor was peace fully secured.

TO THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 10*th October* 1881.

I suppose the Cabinet, of which notice has been given for next Wednesday, must be on Transvaal affairs. Being unavoidably a prisoner to my room here, I cannot be present; but I shall be very much obliged if you, or some other of my friends

and colleagues, will let me be informed of anything important which may be agreed upon, or may be likely to be proposed on a future day.

These Transvaal papers have lately caused me (as I suppose they must have caused you, and every member of the Government) great uneasiness; but I comfort myself by the tone of your own telegrams, from which I infer that, let the Volksraad do what they may, *we shall stand to our ground*, and not abandon, under Boer dictation, anything of importance in the terms of the Convention. If a renewal of the war should be an unavoidable consequence of our adherence to those terms, the moral responsibility would no longer be on our side; and, unless the doctrine is to be laid down, that whoever, in any part of the world, threatens us with war or insurrections can in that manner have his own way, I think we *must*, upon this occasion, show that we have not been acting, down to this point, under the influence of fear; and that, having done what we held to be right, we both can and will stand firm in maintaining it. I cannot imagine anything more dangerous, not in South Africa only, but in India and elsewhere, to those interests, the protection of which, by a nation having a world-wide dominion over many races of men, is really a most imperative *obligation and duty*, than to permit ourselves, when we have proposed terms amply sufficient to prove our hatred of any war not forced upon us, and our determination to be governed by justice in preference to false pride,—and when such proposal has resulted in an agreement with the Leaders of the Boers in the war, with whom alone it was possible for us to deal; to be driven from the points on which we insisted in that agreement by any proceedings (be they what they may) of the Volksraad. I shall look upon the refusal of that body to ratify (if persisted in) simply as a determination either to deal with us as a defeated enemy, accepting that position, or to renew the war. If so, though yielding to no man in my hatred of war, I see no alternative but that the Volksraad must yield, or the war be renewed.

I collect, from Sir H. Robinson's and Sir E. Wood's telegrams, that *their* opinions and advice point the same way.—Believe me ever, my dear Kimberley, yours truly, SELBORNE.

Private.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 11*th October* 1881.

MY DEAR CHANCELLOR—I cannot say how sorry I am to find from your letter that you are still confined to your room.

The situation of the Transvaal affair is very serious. The Boers are so ignorant, self-willed, and triumphant at their victories that I am not so sanguine as Robinson and Wood are that they will yield. Still Robinson and Wood ought to be much better judges than I can be of their real temper. I entirely agree with you that we ought to maintain a firm attitude. But there is a disposition in so many members of our party to imagine that an Empire can be and ought to be maintained without ever resorting to force, that I foresee difficulties when it comes to the real pinch. We have, as you justly say, to consider our position not only in South Africa, but all over the world. South Africa itself is treated with far too much indifference by many of our politicians. Every one who has considered the question knows that the route to India by the Suez Canal and Egypt cannot be relied on in case of a great war. The Cape route will then be of enormous importance to us, and it is an entire delusion to imagine that we could hold Cape Town, abandoning the rest. If we allow our supremacy in South Africa to be taken from us, we shall be ousted before long from that country altogether.—Yours very truly,

KIMBERLEY.

I have now to speak of Ireland: as to which, the course taken by its predecessors placed the new Government, from the moment of taking office, in a situation of great embarrassment.

The year 1879 had been marked by distress in certain parts of Ireland, owing to the failure of crops; and by the foundation of the Land League, destined to be a more potent instrument of political and agrarian disturbance than any which had preceded it. Everything possible was done for relief of the distress;

the short session which preceded the dissolution in 1880 was occupied almost entirely with measures designed for that purpose. But as to the other danger, no action was taken.

Two strong Irish Peace Preservation Acts,[1] passed by Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry in 1870 and 1871, in which some important provisions of earlier legislation[2] were incorporated, had been kept in force by annual renewal till 1875. In that year, the improved condition of Ireland seemed to justify a mitigation of the severity of those laws; and some of their more stringent and exceptional powers, including those directed against seditious newspapers, were repealed.[3] But there remained provisions for restricting the sale and possession of arms, for prohibiting combinations and confederacies bound together by secret signs and oaths, for maintaining an extraordinary police-force in proclaimed districts, for securing the attendance of witnesses, and for enabling Grand Juries to award compensation to sufferers by murder and other acts of violence; all which were continued till the 1st of June 1880; when they would expire, unless further renewed by Parliament. The gravity of the situation in Ireland at the beginning of 1880 was the topic most dwelt upon by Lord Beaconsfield, in the appeal which he made to the country under the form of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough[4] on the 8th of

[1] 33 & 34 Vict. cap. 9:—34 & 35 Vict. cap. 25.

[2] 2 & 3 Vict. cap. 74:—11 & 12 Vict. cap. 2:—19 & 20 Vict. cap. 36.

[3] 38 & 39 Vict. cap. 14.

[4] Then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

March, the day on which the coming dissolution was announced. He spoke of the occasion as most "critical" and of the danger which was "distracting" Ireland, as "in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine." Yet, by dissolving Parliament at that moment, he threw away the means which were in his hands of fortifying the Government against that danger. There was no intelligible reason,—certainly none which could outweigh the duty of at least keeping up the existing securities for peace and order in Ireland,—for dissolving Parliament in the spring, rather than the summer or autumn of 1880. If the dissolution had been postponed till all that was necessary for that purpose had been done, an Act continuing the existing, and granting (if needed) additional powers, might have been carried through Parliament without much difficulty. But the resolution was taken to throw the responsibility for doing or not doing this upon the new Parliament, and (if the Government should be changed) upon a new Administration. This might have been justifiable, if the new Parliament and a new Administration would have the same means of understanding the exigencies of the situation, and obtaining new powers, or at least preventing the lapse of the old. But it was not so. When the new Parliament assembled for business, there were only twelve days,—from the 20th of May to the 1st of June,—before the time at which the Peace Preservation Act of 1875, and all the older laws kept in force by it, would expire. The first question which

the new Cabinet had to consider was, whether it would be possible for them to carry through Parliament a continuance or any other Act for dealing with the situation in Ireland within those twelve days? It was manifestly impossible. And, if legislation were to take the shape of a demand for new powers, or for the revival of powers which had unavoidably been suffered to lapse, the Liberal majority in the new Parliament would be sure to require proofs, in the one case of necessity for the course proposed, and in the other both of its necessity and of its sufficiency; which a Government new to power might not be in a situation to give. It was felt that the powers which had been left in force from 1875 to June 1880 were not strong enough for any very serious emergency; and it did not yet appear that such an emergency had actually arisen; nor was it certain that it would arise. No record of what Lord Beaconsfield's Government would have proposed was left for the information of their successors—if, indeed, any definite resolution had been taken by them; which was never made clear in any of the debates which followed. The consequence was, that Forster, the new Irish Secretary, came to the conclusion that, as the lapse of the laws expiring on the 1st of June could not be prevented, it would be best, upon a balance of difficulties, to try whether Ireland could not be governed by the ordinary law, before asking Parliament for the same or larger powers. The Cabinet adopted that view, not without misgiving and reluctance on the part of some of its

members; and an announcement to that effect was made in the Speech from the Throne. To sanguine minds, disposed to believe what they desired, this was not an unwelcome conclusion—Gladstone had made light of Lord Beaconsfield's note of alarm about the state of Ireland—and some reliance was placed upon the effect which the known disposition of the new Government to legislate for that country in a Liberal spirit might have in removing or mitigating discontent.

Whatever expectations of this kind may have been entertained, they were not realised. Lord Beaconsfield's estimate of the situation proved to be more accurate than Gladstone's. The founders and leaders of the Land League had avowed, especially in America, objects not stopping short of the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain; in the prosecution of which they were not likely to be restrained by confidence in any British Administration, of any political colour: and during the spring and early summer of 1880 a formidable agitation was carried on against the rights and the very existence of landlords. No sooner had the Acts restricting the sale and possession of arms expired, than the agitators, at meeting after meeting,[1] instructed their hearers that they might now lawfully procure arms and ammunition, to any

[1] See, in the Report of the Judges under the Special Commission Act of 1888, extracts from speeches made at meetings on the 6th and 20th June, and the 4th July 1880 (pp. 25-28 of the Report as presented to Parliament:—C. 1890, No. 5891).

extent, and advised them to do so: advice which was largely followed. This made any exercise of the power of eviction by landlords to recover arrears of rent,—often left unpaid without reasonable cause, through the counsels and influence of the Land League, — more and more dangerous: and the Government, now called upon to enforce the legal rights of landlords and to resist the combination against them with means less effectual than at any former time, were pressed on the other side by speeches and motions in the House of Commons from Irish members actively engaged in that combination. They came to the resolution (it must be confessed, rather suddenly) that, if the peace of Ireland was to be preserved during that critical period, a line must in some way be drawn between the cases in which rents were left unpaid through the pressure of temporary distress and those in which they were withheld, by tenants able to pay them, under the influence of the League; and they introduced, with that view, towards the end of June, a Bill for temporarily extending to cases of non-payment of rent by reason of distress the provisions, as to "compensation for disturbance," of the Land Act of 1870. And on the 29th of July they issued the Commission of which Lord Bessborough was chairman, to inquire into the working of the Irish Land-laws.

The "Compensation for Disturbance Bill" passed the House of Commons by a large majority. It was limited in point of time to the end of 1881, and in

area to the districts, extending over about half Ireland, which had been referred to as distressed in the Relief Act[1] passed by Lord Beaconsfield's Government, and it applied only to cases, within those districts, in which a County Court Judge should be satisfied that the tenant was unable to pay his rent, in consequence of distress caused by the bad harvests of the current and two preceding years, and that he was willing to continue in his holding on just and reasonable terms, unreasonably refused by the landlord. Mr. Forster explained, that the Government had hoped to be able to put off legislating till they had all the facts before them, but they found they could wait no longer; facts were accumulating upon them, evictions[2] had increased, and were daily increasing.

To myself, it seemed at the time a sufficient reason for acquiescing in the introduction of this measure, and for defending it in the House of Lords, that the Government of Ireland thought it necessary. If it had passed, it would have been a check and discouragement to eviction in all cases in which the landlord could reasonably be represented as taking advantage of difficulties under which his tenants were placed by an exceptional period of distress, and, when the powers of the law were placed under an unusual strain by extraordinary

[1] 43 Vict. cap. 4, §§ 9, 10.

[2] The average of evictions during the five years ending in 1877 was 503: in 1878 they were 743; in 1879, 1090; in 1880 up to the 1st of June, 1073.

circumstances, I thought it consistent with sound principle so far to relieve that strain. Attempts might, doubtless, have been made to obtain the benefit of such a law for cases in which the conditions expressed were not really satisfied; and County Court Judges might sometimes have failed to distinguish such cases; but on the whole, it seemed reasonable to trust those tribunals to investigate properly the cases which might come before them, and to decide them, generally, according to their merits. The Bill, as I said in the House of Lords, was designed, not as a concession to agitation, but "in the interest of the public peace and public good, and in the real interest of property itself." The House of Lords, however, could not be persuaded to take that view of it, and upon the Second Reading it was rejected by the enormous majority of 282 to 51. This, in the opinion of the Government, was a grave misfortune. But I do not believe it to be true (as has often been asserted), that this action of the House of Lords was in any sense or degree the cause of the evils which followed. Any one who will compare[1] what went before with what followed may see a connection and sequence in the whole course of events, sufficient to repel that idea; though the agitators, of course, made what capital

[1] For this purpose, a study of Mr. Justice Fitzgerald's summing up, in his charge to the jury, of the evidence given before him at the State Trial at the end of 1880 is useful. He said:—"If I read aright the speeches delivered at the Land League meetings in May, the speeches delivered in June, July, and August (and it was in July the Disturbance Bill passed the House of Commons, it was in

they could out of the rejection of the Bill. And those who would judge fairly the motives which led Lord Grey to move its rejection, and so great a number of Peers (not a few of them independent Liberals) to follow him, must admit that it was brought forward under circumstances calculated to excite distrust, if not to excuse panic. The Cabinet had determined, so far as the disturbers of the peace of Ireland were concerned, to govern, or attempt to govern, by the ordinary law; the consequences of that resolution had not been reassuring; and now they proposed a departure from the ordinary law against those whose rights of property were the special object of attack, the owners of land. The evils which it was proposed to meet were such as, in the judgment of most men, would never have existed to an extent requiring any such remedy, but for the seditious agitation, to repress which special powers were not asked for. In large parts of the area to which the Bill was made applicable, the non-payment of rent which led to evictions was not likely to have been caused by mere distress. Uncertainty as to the manner in which the measure might have been worked under the counsels of the agitators, and the haste, bearing the appearance of a sudden change of policy, with which it had been produced, aggravated

August it was rejected by the House of Lords)—but during all that period of four months, the operations of the National Land League went on, and language of vituperation and calumny was heaped upon the heads of the landlords, and the most rigid instructions and advice were given at these public meetings to the tenants of the country not to pay their rents."

the unfavourable impressions thus created. Even to impartial bystanders, there seemed to be a want of foresight as well as firmness in the course of the Government. Cardwell was one of them, and my answer to a letter which I received from him shows, that I felt the difficulty of meeting his criticisms:—

I understand what you mean by saying, that you have not been able to understand some of our proceedings as a Government. This present Government is not a bed of roses; and those who are in it may sometimes have cause to feel envious of those who are not. Ireland is our greatest difficulty; and I fear it may be an increasing one. For the reasons which I endeavoured to explain in the House of Lords, I did not think it possible to stand out against the demand of the Irish Office for a temporary check upon the power of eviction: but I am free to admit, that it would have been far better not to propose any such measure, than to propose it unsuccessfully, with the consequences, in both Houses of Parliament, which have ensued; nor shall I be greatly aggrieved, if you or any one else should think that the failure and its consequences ought to have been foreseen. We have since had other proofs of the impulsiveness and want of self-restraint and sound judgment which prevails in a quarter where I had not expected it,[1] and where the opposite qualities are most highly desirable: and you will, therefore, understand that the prospect before us is not all that I could wish. Much, however, will depend upon what may happen before another meeting of Parliament; and one may, in the meantime, be thankful that the session has at last come to an end.

Before Parliament separated, assurances were given on the part of the Government[2] that it would

[1] Forster had spoken with more irritation than prudence of the action of the House of Lords: of which he was perhaps himself sensible: for the remarks, which produced that impression, have a different appearance, as corrected in *Hansard's Debates.*

[2] By Forster: 23rd and 24th August 1880. *Hansard*, Third Series, Vol. 255; pp. 1846, 2022.

be called together again, if it should be found, in the course of the autumn or winter, that additional powers were needed or the fulfilment of "their first duty, the protection of life and property." But it was added, that they did not expect this necessity to be imposed on them. During the three months which followed, outrage and defiance of the law increased so rapidly, as to make it difficult for those who thought as I did to be patient under the delay. Being called upon to speak at the Guildhall dinner on the 9th of November, I alluded to this subject in a manner which elicited from my hearers a marked and significant response.[1] After saying, that I regarded the recognition given to the office which I held upon such occasions "as a symbol and sign of the respect felt in this country for the law," I continued:—

Liberty and law are the two great pillars of the State. Each is absolutely and indispensably necessary to the perfection of the other. . . . Liberty enables and encourages every subject of the realm to speak with freedom when he thinks that in any respect the law is imperfect or bad, and to use all lawful and honourable means to obtain its amendment; and by means of that liberty, freely used in public and private, the process of the amendment of our laws has been continually going on. On the other hand, no man's liberties would be safe, either as to his person or as to his political rights or his private rights of property, if law were not respected, independently administered, and loyally obeyed. It is, therefore, and must always be, one of the first, greatest, and most paramount duties of every

[1] By a long-established custom, on Lord Mayor's Day the health of the Lord Chancellor is proposed personally and separately. On this occasion there was such a demonstration after it as has never been heard in the Guildhall in this generation.—K. M. M.

Government, to maintain the authority of law with firmness and steadiness, and without respect to any man who seeks to introduce public disorder into the State, or insists that the law, while it exists, is not to be obeyed. At the same time it is a duty not less imperative on Government to observe all signs of public dissatisfaction with existing laws, to search carefully into their causes, and to apply a remedy in good time where wise and sound legislation is possible. These duties I hope the Government of which I have the honour to be a member will endeavour to discharge.

Gladstone, following me, spoke in the same sense. After adverting to the probable necessity for some further development of recent Irish legislation as to land, he said, that "there was one thought anterior to the reform improvement of the law, and that was the maintenance of public order":—

Anxious as we are for the practical improvement of the land laws, I assure your lordship and all who hear me, as well as those who may become acquainted with the proceedings of this meeting, that we recognise also the priority of the duty, above every other, of enforcing the law for the purposes of order. And let me say one word more. We hold it our first duty to look to the law as it stands, to ascertain what its fair and just administration means. But the obligation incumbent on us to protect every citizen in the enjoyment of his life and his property might, under certain circumstances, compel us to ask for an increase of power; and, although we will never anticipate such a contingency or imagine it to exist until it is proved by the clearest demonstration, yet if that contingency were realised, if the demonstration were afforded, you may rely on it we should not shrink from acting on the obligation it would entail.

The result of the consultations of the Cabinet was in accordance with the indication given by Gladstone's words: It was determined, before asking

Parliament for new powers, to prosecute Mr. Parnell and his principal coadjutors and instruments under the ordinary law, for a criminal and seditious conspiracy. Whatever might be the issue of that proceeding, it was hoped (not unreasonably) that the fact of its dependence might have a restraining influence upon the promoters of disorder: and the delay would give time for the Report of the Commission on the Land Laws to be received and considered, so that if, when Parliament met, it should be found necessary to ask for extraordinary powers, the request for them might be accompanied by an announcement of remedial measures. The prosecution was instituted accordingly; and the trial in Dublin, before Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, occupied great part of the winter. That learned Judge was a Roman Catholic, who had filled the office of Attorney-General for Ireland with great credit under Lord Palmerston's Government. No fairer-minded, abler, or more independent man sat upon the Irish Bench. He was afterwards for several years one of the Judicial Life Peers in the House of Lords, where, by the candour of his mind and his attractive personal qualities, he won universal esteem. His death, which happened almost suddenly in the autumn of 1889, was lamented by men of all shades of opinion. At the end of the trial in January 1881 he laid down the law very clearly in favour of the Crown, and his summing-up of the evidence pointed unmistakably to a conviction. But the jury disagreed, and were discharged without a verdict: and it was thus made plain that, if the Government were

to be enabled to cope with conspiracies against the law, and with the crimes which resulted from them, it was not upon common juries, even in Dublin, that reliance could be placed.

The condition of Ireland made it necessary for Parliament to meet for business on the earliest day possible after Christmas: it met on the 6th of January 1881. The Queen's Speech described agrarian crimes in that country as multiplied far beyond the experience of recent years; the administration of justice as frustrated, with respect to those offences, through the impossibility of procuring evidence; and an extended system of terror as being thus established in various parts of the country. The insufficiency of ordinary powers had been demonstrated; new powers would be asked for, and remedial legislation, by a further development of the principles of the Land Act of 1870, would be proposed.

The measure for the repression of crime, which was soon after carried through Parliament, took the shape (unfortunately, as I now[1] think) of a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act until the end of the next session, with provisions for certificates (to be laid before Parliament) as to the nature of the offences on suspicion of which warrants for the imprisonment of persons suspected might be issued by the Lord-Lieutenant under the Act. I was myself content to rely on the judgment of those directly responsible for the government of Ireland, and of my more experienced colleagues: two of whom, Lord Kimberley

[1] August 1890.

and Lord Spencer, had held (each for several years) the office of Lord-Lieutenant. The same course had been taken before,—once when Lord Kimberley was Lord-Lieutenant; and it had, on those occasions, been thought efficacious. But it was not sufficiently considered, that the evils arising out of the operations of the Land League had their root in a political Confederation, powerful in Parliament as well as among the Irish peasantry; and that the detention of suspected persons in prison on a large scale, without the purpose or the power of bringing them to trial, was at once more contrary to constitutional principles, and less capable of being indefinitely prolonged, than preventive legislation, adapted to the particular forms which those evils had assumed, and providing adequate remedies through legal tribunals. This, which was the thing really wanted, was for the time neglected.

The Land Act of 1881, which followed, was the fruit, practically inevitable, of the Royal Commission appointed on the 29th of July preceding. Commissions of that kind, issued in any grave emergency, always bring existing evils into a strong light, and generally suggest drastic remedies, which, when so recommended, can hardly be set aside in favour of weaker measures. The personal composition of that Commission added to its authority. It included three of the best possible representatives of the landlord class, — Lord Bessborough, the Chairman; Mr. Kavanagh, who took a prominent part in the discussions of 1870; and the O'Conor Don, head of one of the oldest and best esteemed Roman Catholic families.

To these were added Baron Dowse, one of the shrewdest and wittiest of Irish Judges; and Mr. Shaw, who for a short time after Mr. Butt's death led the moderate "Home Rule" party in the House of Commons,—a respectable and reasonable man, unconnected with the Land League. The general Report (signed by all except Mr. Kavanagh, though with some reservations on the part of the O'Conor Don and Mr. Shaw), pointed to legislation of the kind which followed. Mr. Kavanagh made a separate Report, stating his preference for the Scheme of the Act of 1870 over that of a general fixity of tenure; but he was for extending the right of sale to all holdings regulated by that Act, upon which improvements had been made by the tenant; and he said (what was most important) that the question of rent was at the bottom of every other, and was really, whether in the North or South, "the gist of the grievances which had caused much of the public dissatisfaction." He considered it proved, that the Act of 1870 "did not afford sufficient protection to the tenants against the unjust exercise of the power to raise rents in unscrupulous hands"; and he concluded, in spite of all objections, "that, in any proposed alteration of present rents, whether at the instance of landlord or tenant, when the two parties could not agree, the question should be left to arbitration, with final reference, in the event of the arbitrators not being able to agree upon an umpire, to a Land Court or Commission, which should be appointed for that and other purposes."

In an early stage of our deliberations upon this subject, the Duke of Argyll left the Cabinet, thinking the sort of legislation which was proposed inconsistent with sound principles. To me, especially, his retirement was a great loss; there was no one among our colleagues for whom I had greater regard, or in whom I felt more confidence. But I thought it my own duty to give such help as I could, setting aside every prepossession, towards a practical solution of the difficulties of the question. There had been in Ireland a long-standing conflict between legal theory and practical status, aggravated by the almost exclusive dependence of the mass of the people upon agricultural pursuits, and by social conditions which stood in the way of its adjustment by merely economical methods. The law in 1860 had treated the relation between landlord and tenant as depending, in Ireland as well as England, on contract only; when it was really and in truth, and according to the practical sense of the people, one of tenure: and the legislation of 1870 proceeded upon this latter view. It seemed a fallacy to talk of interference with freedom of contract and other economical principles, when the moral and social forces with which we had to deal were antagonistic to and inconsistent with them. Under any circumstances, freedom of contract could only be exercised within lines prescribed by law; and when you found that within those lines it was not in fact exercised, and that you had to encounter forces more powerful which were at variance with it; when you had no

open market, no freedom to hire or to let; when the habits and relations of the classes concerned showed that you could not apply economical principles without modification and regulation; — then it was necessary to adapt your laws to the circumstances with which you had to deal, and to the state of society for which you legislated; and it was pedantic to rest upon theoretical and abstract ideas, instead of endeavouring to do the best you could under circumstances of practical difficulty, which placed a dangerous strain upon the powers of law and government.

I saw that the effect of the Act of 1870 had been to develop, in Ulster especially, under the pressure of recent bad times (of which our experience in England did not make any great improvement probable), a sense of the incompatibility of the landlord's unlimited power of raising rents with the rights recognised by law as belonging to the tenant. There was, even in that Protestant and loyal province, much growing discontent. I saw no way out of the difficulty without establishing the principle of "fair rents," to be settled, in case of difference, by some form of public arbitration, as all the Commissioners recommended, unless the O'Conor Don[1] ought to be taken as dissenting from them. But from fair rents, fixed by a public authority, some reasonable fixity of

[1] In a Supplementary Report, the O'Conor Don said, that he regarded the establishment of a peasant proprietary as the main object, and fixity of tenure as secondary to it: and that he saw great difficulty in arriving at fair rents.

tenure, in favour of tenants who paid their rents and observed the other conditions of their holding, was an inevitable corollary. If these things were granted to Ulster (being no part of the customs of that province), they could not be withheld from the rest of Ireland; and, when they were generally extended, the reasons against allowing elsewhere the power, already existing under the Ulster customs, for tenants to bring to market for sale the interests secured to them by law in their holdings, would disappear.

The question, whether these changes could be made without giving to landlords generally a claim to compensation, had to be considered. But the reasons which, to my mind, justified them, were also reasons against that claim. The object of the proposed legislation was to restore and maintain the substance of property rights, while modifying their conditions and form: and this, if successful, might really add to and make more secure, not detract from, the permanent value of the landlord's property. Not everything which was a gain to the tenant was therefore taken away from the landlord. It was the landlord's interest that the tenant should prosper and be contented. The produce of land had not in Ireland, any more than elsewhere, a fixed intrinsic value, independent of competition in the markets of the world, and of variations of times and seasons. Excessive rents led naturally to arrears, and to friction between landlord and tenant; and these causes produced evictions, combinations, outrages, and other forms of public mischief, which made all land rights

insecure. If, in the process of fixing fair rents by public authority, reductions were made, the landlord could not reasonably be regarded as losing by that reduction something of which he would otherwise have had a safe and permanent enjoyment. The just rights and interests of the landlord were meant to be provided for in the other conditions of the holding; and only tenants who observed those conditions would have the benefit of the Statutory tenure, equivalent practically to an assignable lease. When the fixed term came to an end, a revision of the rent, at the instance of either party, might again take place. It could not make any difference in principle, that the amount of the fair rent must depend upon an equitable judgment, and could not be the subject of demonstration. In such a case I was unable to discover any practical measure of loss or gain, in respect of which compensation could be claimed or made.

When the Bill came to the House of Lords, no small part of the burden of defending it, by these and similar arguments, fell upon my shoulders; and I exerted myself anxiously and laboriously for that purpose, both upon the Second Reading,[1] and in later stages. It was a painful as well as an anxious duty:

[1] 2nd August 1881. Lord Carlingford wrote to Lord Selborne imploring him to go through the Irish Bill with him, saying that he relied entirely on Lord Selborne, and could only undertake the charge of the Bill on the condition of Lord Selborne's constant attention throughout. All this time Lord Selborne was sitting daily in the Court of Appeal (in the Old Hall of Lincoln's Inn) from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M., and then went straight to the House of Lords.—K. M. M.

but it was not aggravated by any unwillingness on the part of those whom I addressed to look the facts of the situation in the face; and the House passed the Bill. It was painful to me (having acquiesced reluctantly, and not without much misgiving, in the Act of 1870) to find myself now compelled to be the advocate of further developments of it, which in 1870 every responsible statesman rejected as inadmissible, and of which few then believed it to contain the germs. I had not taken a more accurate measure than other people of the importance of that part of it—the legalisation of the Ulster customs—on which Conservatives as well as Liberals had looked with favour, and which passed almost without criticism; though it was really, next to the recognition of the tenant's right to his own and his predecessors' improvements, the most pregnant with consequences. But, thinking that the necessity of the case would not be satisfied by anything short of the proposals of 1881, I had no choice but to act upon that opinion. I did not doubt that all my colleagues, as well as myself, would stand resolutely by the substance of the settlement then made, in favour of landlord as well as tenant, happen what might; and that they would have the power as well as the will to do so. Nor do I doubt now, that, if they had done so, that settlement might have been advantageous in its results to men of all classes. My declarations, that I considered it beneficial, under the circumstances with which we had to deal, to the owners as well as the occupiers of land, were absolutely sincere. If I

had thought otherwise,—if I had supposed that those whose responsibility I shared could join hands, as soon as they were out of office, with the League established to drive "landlordism" out of Ireland, and accept the denunciations of that League instead of the law of the land as the practical measure of the rights of landlords and the extent to which they ought to be recognised and enforced,—I could not have done any act, or spoken a word, in the direction of what (to me at all events) would have been an inexcusable breach of public duty and good faith.

The cares and fatigues of that session told upon my health; and on the evening of the 16th of August I was so ill as to be obliged suddenly to leave the Woolsack. I was under command to go to Osborne the next day, which I did, not without difficulty; making a long and very rough passage from Portsmouth to Cowes. On my return to London, I found a letter waiting for me from Gladstone. He said:—

I am much concerned to see that you were unwell in the House of Lords last night, and were obliged to go home. I trust that now there may be nothing to interfere with your giving careful and unbroken attention to your health, which, to judge by visible signs, has for some time really required it. . . . But this preamble is not the only or the main purpose of my note; which, having waited until the Land Bill was settled, I was about to write, when I read the disagreeable paragraph in the newspaper. I cannot let the occasion go by, without offering you my emphatic thanks for the constant and signal service you have rendered us in our long and anxious deliberations upon the most difficult measure I have ever known to come under the detailed consideration of a Cabinet. I feel a scruple, as a

layman, in praising a sermon to the preacher. So I now feel a scruple in paying a compliment to a judge. I will say nothing, therefore, about the qualities you have displayed in themselves; but, speaking only of my own impressions, I will say that I have felt you, all along, to be a tower of strength: and I am most grateful to a friend in need who has been a friend indeed.

This was the most demonstrative letter which I ever received from him, though there were some other occasions on which he wrote in a scarcely less encouraging tone.

Parliament was prorogued soon afterwards, and my friends were anxious that I should have complete rest.

---

10 DOWNING STREET, 20*th August* 1881.

MY DEAR LADY SELBORNE—It is barely civil to the Lord Chancellor, but Gladstone and all the Cabinet Peers have expressed so strong a wish to get rid of him from London at once that it will not be decent for him to remain!

We trust to you for carrying him off immediately.—Ever yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

We, the undersigned, preferring the room of the Lord Chancellor to his company, request him respectfully to leave London, being of opinion that among us we can conduct the remaining business of the session to a successful issue without his assistance.

GRANVILLE.
KIMBERLEY.
CARLINGFORD.
NORTHBROOK.
SPENCER.

It was not till we had been some days at Blackmoor, that I began to realise the approach of serious illness; but I was increasingly sensible of an unusual want of command over my own movements;

and at last I became perfectly helpless; and remained for some time in a state of prostration from which I did not expect recovery. But Dr. Edgelow, who had been for many years our medical adviser, took a more favourable view: the case, he said, was one of spinal irritation, arising from overwork. Under his treatment, after I had been a prisoner to my bed for more than a month, my strength began to return, and convalescence proceeded, not rapidly, but without interruption. We received from every side most kind expressions of sympathy. The Queen wrote herself, and asked for information as to the nature and course of my illness. Gladstone relieved me as much and as long as was possible from public business; though some decisions of great moment (among others, those for Mr. Parnell's arrest, and for the suppression of the Land League) had to be taken by the Cabinet while I was unable to leave my bed. To letters, I was after the first month of my illness able to attend; and Forster and other colleagues communicated with me when they thought it necessary. Lord Coleridge relieved me from ceremonial duties; Lord Cairns, Lord Penzance, and others, undertook the judicial work of the House of Lords. My friend and principal secretary, Kenneth Muir Mackenzie, made Blackmoor for some time his headquarters, and attended under my instructions to all current official business. By these means, the necessity for resignation was avoided.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12*th October* 1881.

MY DEAR SELBORNE—I am delighted to hear you are getting on so well.

I hear fabulous accounts of the care you take, but I do not quite believe them.

The Cabinet settled to arrest P. and others. This will break your heart! No opposition except from Harcourt, who took legal points, on which he appeared to be wrong!

No concessions on S. Africa.

Hartington the only one inclined to jingoism as to Egypt. The rest approve of good understanding with France.—Ever yours, GRANVILLE.

13*th October* 1881.

MY DEAR LORD CHANCELLOR—Do not suppose from my writing so shortly as I do that I am not very grateful for your most efficient help to the Cabinet yesterday in their decision which I am glad to say was unanimous.

I consider your Mem. stating your opinion that the Land League is now a treasonable body most important.

We have made a beginning this morning by arresting Parnell, and several other arrests will follow.

I cannot say how glad we all are to find you are really better.—Yours very truly, W. E. FORSTER.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, 18*th October* 1881.

Last session was, to me, one of great anxiety and very hard work. The strain proved too much for me; my strength lasted just long enough to enable me to take my part in the House of Lords' debates upon the Irish Land Bill, and, as soon as Parliament was prorogued, I broke down, being reduced to a state of such complete physical prostration (thank God, not affecting my mind) as to make me doubt, for some time, whether my

official, and even my natural, life might not be drawing very near its end. My doctor enjoined absolute rest for a considerable time, and I have made some steady progress towards recovery. He is very sanguine that in the end I shall entirely regain my strength; but he prohibits my going to London, even for Cabinets, till the middle of November.—Believe me, ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

To the Archdeacon of Oxford

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 20*th October* 1881.

Through God's great goodness, I continue to make steady progress from day to day. Yesterday I went (or, to speak more accurately, *was carried*) downstairs for the first time: and remained there from 4 to 9 o'clock.

The day before Coleridge came to see me; and he will, I am sure, report favourably, both of my looks and my spirits.

To-morrow Mackenzie takes his departure, and on Saturday the excellent nurse, to whose services I am much indebted, and who has made me feel very practically the blessing of such institutions as that to which she belongs.

Her Majesty, and the Gladstones, have been most kind: and I shall never cease to feel the Queen's graciousness, and their friendship.

Although absent from last week's Cabinet, I had the opportunity, by correspondence, of contributing my views on the subjects which they had to consider.—Believe me, ever your most affectionate brother, SELBORNE.

To Viscount Cardwell

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 21*st October* 1881.

Your and Lady Cardwell's affectionate sympathy with me in my illness has been deeply felt by us.

I am thankful to say that I make steady progress daily, and am now beginning to go for some hours downstairs.

You know, I think, that I suffered for many weeks from

constant headaches before I left London. They were the precursors of a state of complete bodily prostration (I thank God, bodily only) soon after I came down here.

You see what would have happened if we had been bold enough to yield to the temptation which you and Lady Cardwell held out to us, of following you to Braemar. You would have had to nurse me! which burden I should not have liked to throw even upon my oldest and best friends.—Believe me, ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To ALFRED TENNYSON

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *7th November* 1881.

I have to thank you very much for the loan of two books, *John Inglesant* and *Agamemnon*,[1] which I have read with great interest, during my illness. The *Agamemnon* (though flinching more than the author's conception of his undertaking, or any intrinsic difficulty required, so, at least, I think, from giving an even approximate complete rendering of some very fine passages in his original) is certainly a more spirited poetical and really Æschylean work than that of any other translators whom I know. But I wish some friend of the author would remonstrate with him on the liberties which he takes here and there with the English language. At page 43 (*Clyt.*, line 2) he has coined the comparative "inexhaustibler," and at p. 57 (*Chor.*, last line), the superlative "accursedest." And the press seems to be imperfectly corrected, e.g. "*Ghost*" for "*Ghosts*," in p. 58. Still it is a fine performance.

John Inglesant (also rather carelessly printed, and wanting verbal revision in several places) is a very original, picturesquely written, and in many ways remarkable work. It is difficult to say whether the psychological, the ecclesiastical, or the picturesque element predominates in it, but in the combination of all these kinds of interests, and in the remarkable success with which the conception of a very singular individual character is wrought

[1] By J. Henry Shorthouse, and translation by Edward FitzGerald.

out, the book seems to me to stand high above most contemporary works of fiction.

If you could tell me *who* is the real author of each of these books, I should much like to know.

I ought to ask forgiveness for intruding on your time with these remarks on books, which, by your kindness, have helped to relieve the hours when I was secluded from society and work.—Believe me, dear Mr. Tennyson, ever yours truly,

SELBORNE.

ALDWORTH, *8th November* '81.

MY DEAR LORD SELBORNE—We rejoice to see your handwriting, for we trust it shows you have in great measure recovered; and we hope that Ramsgate may altogether restore you.

As for the books, don't trouble yourself about them; if not inconvenient, you can drop them at Haslemere Station on your way to town.

I suppose your daughter is gone on her tour. We shall miss her. With very kind regards.—Yours ever,

A. TENNYSON.

On the 10th of November I was sufficiently recovered to be able to attend a Cabinet in London on my way to Ramsgate, where I remained for a fortnight, seeing something of Archbishop Tait at Westgate, and making the acquaintance of Sir Moses Montefiore, then in his 98th year (and still of a majestic presence), who was very kind to us. On the 3rd of December we returned to Blackmoor; and by the beginning of the next year I was well again.

To Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart.

25th October 1884.

As I hear that my friend Lady Rosebery is going to see you on Monday, I cannot resist the pleasure of sending you, by her, a few lines of congratulation on the actual completion of your hundredth year. A wise man would seldom venture to wish beforehand for such length of days; but it is not for us, happily, to decide this for ourselves.

When to so long a life are added (as they have been in your case) those greater and better gifts of love to God and man, the means of doing great good, and the power and will to use these means for the benefit of mankind; and also the preservation of both bodily and mental powers in a degree unusual even at a less advanced age, together with universal respect and honour, it is impossible for the friends of such a man not to rejoice, and to desire that, so long as it may be God's will, such a life may be still further prolonged.—Believe me, my dear Sir Moses, yours faithfully, Selborne.

Other events of interest to us occurred in 1881. In the spring of that year my brother Horsley and his wife settled at Coldhayes near Blackmoor, in a house, beautifully situated, which he had built, and he then resigned the Rectory of Mixbury. Our last family gathering there, and leave-taking of the people by many of whom the memory and love of my parents and sisters was cherished, was in April.

Death was this year busy among my friends. On 24th June we lost Elizabeth Petrie, our children's nurse, to whom we were all greatly attached, and who had remained in our family after they were grown up. Her grave is in Blackmoor churchyard, beside that of my dear wife.

Lord Justice James also died in June; Lord Hatherley in July; Arthur Stanley, Dean of Westminster, on the 18th of July; and Sir William Heathcote not long after. To two of them I paid some tribute in the House of Lords. Lord Justice James was a man of a generous and noble nature, and the country was never served by a judge of higher character, of a sounder and more rapid discrimination, a more ardent love of justice as distinguished from technicalities, a more accurate knowledge of the principles of law, or a greater power of immediately applying that knowledge to the cases which came before him. Of Lord Hatherley I said:—

He was a man who, I believe, from his earliest years lived a life of as much purity, and as much diligence in doing good in every grade of his profession and in all the public duties he was called upon to fill, as much simplicity of character, as much thorough conscientiousness, as much energy and sound judgment, as, taking into account the infirmity of man, any of us could hope to attain to. From the intimate knowledge of him which I had for forty years, I may even go further. There are not a few men of whom one would say that, as far as one may judge from public and outward signs of character, one looks upon them as examples to be held up for imitation to other men; but of him I would presume even to say, that I am sure that judgment cannot be mistaken. Most men looking back to their earliest life must be sensible of many faults and errors, known to themselves if not known to others. Certainly his modesty never would have permitted him to claim to be more free from faults and errors than other men; and yet I do verily believe, that such as he appeared outwardly to others, he was from his earliest years inwardly in himself. A man of the most remarkable gentleness and sweetness of disposition, and at the same time of firmness and decision which never quailed or failed before the

performance of any duty, he was as little ambitious of personal distinction as any man so distinguished whom I have ever known. It might truly be said of him, that he was not one of those

> Who stoop and lie in wait
> For wealth, for honours, or for worldly state :—

he was one

> Whom they must follow ; on whose head must fall,
> Like showers of manna, if they come at all.[1]

Yet come they do; and it is well for this country that such qualities should be appreciated as they deserve. . . . He was called to the great office of Lord Chancellor; and he bore himself so meekly in it, so diligently and zealously supported every measure which according to his judgment was for the benefit of the country and for the advancement of liberty and justice, that when from failing health—or rather failing eyesight—after four years' sitting in this place and presiding over your Lordships' deliberations, he was compelled to relinquish that office, he carried with him into private life as large a share of esteem and respect as ever fell to the lot of any predecessor of his in that exalted position—as large as any who may be called upon hereafter to succeed him can possibly hope to obtain.

Lord Hatherley's virtues were not only such as in this public tribute I endeavoured to describe; he was also as good and earnest a Christian and Churchman as could anywhere be found. Nothing but physical weakness ever prevented him, when in London, from worshipping daily in Westminster Abbey, with which his comely and gracious presence was as much associated as that of the clergy ministering there. He was a man of active benevolence, full of good works, done simply and without ostentation, often in secret.

With Arthur Stanley I had been intimate from his undergraduate days, down to the 7th of July 1881,

[1] Wordsworth's *Happy Warrior.*

when my wife and I were for the last time his guests in the Deanery of Westminster. He died unexpectedly, in the fulness of his powers, after a very short illness. I delighted in his society and conversation, though I differed from many of his opinions. His intellectual grasp of form and character was vivid and keen; he was great in the region of the picturesque, poetical, and dramatic. Broad to the extent of paradox in his ecclesiastical views, he laboured for unity in a singular way, comprehensive of all extremes. Unity is a cause, in which fellow-workers may be welcomed from all quarters for their charity and goodwill, even when their attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable may seem most vain. Arthur Stanley was, in this and other respects, unique among the men of his time; nor has there since been any one like him. He had a very religious spirit, a fine sympathetic nature, and a most winning disposition; true, unworldly, single-minded, always the same. No one had a larger share of Court favour, or of general popularity: but neither these advantages, nor public applause, made any change in the simplicity of his character.

Sir William Heathcote was a firm friend, a staunch Churchman, a judicious and moderate politician, and in private life irreproachable. It is by his association with the author of the *Christian Year* that he will be best remembered. What Lord Carbery and the Golden Grove were to Jeremy Taylor, that (under different circumstances) Sir William Heathcote and Hursley were to John Keble.

The year 1881 ended for us with much rejoicing on my son passing his examination with first-class honours[1] in the School of Modern History at Oxford. About the same time my brother Edwin declined to be put in nomination (though his election would have been probable) for the Presidency of Corpus Christi College, of which he had been a Fellow when Latin Professor; thinking that the Archdeaconry was his true vocation. For the same reason he afterwards declined the Deanery (offered him by Mr. Gladstone) of more than one Cathedral Church.

[1] The class list came out on the 13th December. There was only one other name in the first class (of Modern History).

CHAPTER XXIV

IRISH AFFAIRS

1882

THE Land League set itself to oppose the Land Act of 1881, from the moment that it passed: and among the consequences of that opposition were Mr. Parnell's imprisonment, the "No-rent" manifesto, and the Proclamation for suppressing the League: which, however, was soon re-constituted, without change of ends or means, under another name. But the influence of the League and its leaders was not strong enough to prevent the acceptance of the Act by the tenant class, either in Ulster or elsewhere, and the applications to the Land Commissioners to fix judicial rents were numerous.

It must be confessed, that those who were desirous to see justice done to landlords as well as tenants were not assisted by much prudence or self-restraint on the part of their chief spokesmen in Ireland. It was with no very good grace that they suffered the Act to pass: and before it was brought into operation, after having become law, they denounced it publicly and loudly.

The Commissioners, three men of unquestionable character and ability, began their work as soon as they could; doing it in the only way possible, through the agency of Sub-Commissioners appointed to visit each holding, from whom there was an appeal on fact as well as law to the Commissioners themselves, and on law a further appeal to the High Court. Reductions of rent were made, which created uneasiness and alarm; and hasty imputations of unfitness and partiality were cast upon the Sub-Commissioners, though selected by Mr. Forster, a very just man. It was even represented as a surprise that the Act should be worked by Sub-Commissioners at all; but nobody could have supposed it possible that a court of three would settle in the first instance, without interminable delays, the rents of thousands of holdings all over Ireland.

The landlords thought that the prices given for tenant-right under the Ulster customs ought to be taken as a sufficient criterion of value between landlord and tenant; according to which rule, every conventional rent of a holding which would sell to a new tenant for anything at all beyond the mere value of the improvements would be upheld as fair. The tenants, on the other hand, contended that the landlord's interest ought to be brought down to what was called the "prairie value"[1] of the soil. The Sub-Commissioners, as practical valuers, adopted neither view: they went (or at least professed to go) upon the principle of considering in each case the quality of

[1] As if the land had never been reclaimed from a state of nature.

the land and other circumstances of the holding, and (after excluding all improvements belonging by law to the tenant) putting upon it the rent which they thought it fairly worth. Consequently, while to landlords the reductions seemed excessive, tenants cried out against them as too small. Their rate was, of course, not uniform; and even this was turned into an argument against them. The average reduction[1] fell far short of that which, under the pressure of the times, large numbers of English and Scotch landlords had to submit to; but the unnatural and uneconomical conditions resulting from land-hunger in Ireland had so inflated both conventional rents and the prices given for tenant-right, as to blind men's eyes to the real facts of the situation; and it was this which had given the Land League power, and made remedial legislation necessary. Even in Ulster there had been a close practical connection between the sale of tenant-right and arrears of rent; the produce of the tenant-right being a fund to which landlords and their agents looked for the payment of arrears. Members of the Government (Bright among others), when advocating the Bill in Parliament, had expressed their belief that the great majority of landlords in Ireland were fair men, whose land was not over-rented. To represent the expression of that belief as a guarantee to the greater number of Irish landlords, that their rents should not be reduced under the Act, was pre-

[1] The average of the Judicial rents fixed down to the middle of February 1882, all over Ireland, appeared by the Parliamentary returns to be ten per cent over Griffith's valuation.

posterous; but it was done freely, and in unexpected quarters.[1] If that belief was to some extent falsified by the event, it was due partly to the decline, which had not been sufficiently taken into account, in the prices of agricultural produce; and partly to the fact that the causes which prevented Irish rents from finding their natural level under the system of contract were imperfectly understood, both by landlords who meant to deal fairly by their tenantry, and by outside observers, even those most favourably placed for forming a judgment.

I myself, as one of those observers, was disturbed by the extent to which the reduction of rents seemed likely to be carried; and I began to doubt whether the case might not prove to be one for compensation, after all. I expressed my misgivings in letters to Forster, Spencer, and Carlingford, who were all, like myself, anxiously watching the course of events. But they rightly thought that it was premature at that time to come to any conclusions. Numerous as were the applications to the Commissioners, and though the reductions made had a tendency to increase their number, they proceeded, as yet, from only a small proportion of the tenantry to whom it was open to take advantage of the Act; and it was probable that the cases first brought into Court might be among those in which the grounds

[1] It was done by several of the speakers, in a debate raised in the House of Lords on the 7th of July 1882 by Lord Lifford, not without encouragement from Lord Cairns. They were answered by Lord Carlingford and myself. It was repeated on the 27th July 1883, and again answered as before.

for reduction were strongest. It did not take much reflection to convince me that it was necessary to wait for a far more extended experience, and, in the meantime, to give credit to those who had to administer the law for an honest intention to do their duty.

Parliament met in 1882 on the 7th of February; and ten days afterwards Lord Donoughmore moved in the House of Lords for a Select Committee to inquire into the working of the Act, although it had been only four months in operation. Nothing could be less wise; but the motion was supported by Lord Cairns, and carried by 96 to 53. I spoke last in the debate, in a manner which reassured my friends as to my physical strength. Comparing the proceeding to that of children who plant flowers and take them up a day or two afterwards to see whether they are growing, I said that beyond all questions the Act had improved the moral position of the Government for the enforcement of the law; and that the tendency of the step now taken was to compromise and imperil the interests of its supporters. A one-sided, irritating, and altogether unprofitable inquiry followed, justifying the objections which had been made to it.[1]

Among the Sub-Commissioners in the south of Ireland was a man of ability named Pierce Mahony, —now (I believe) a Nationalist member of Parliament;

[1] The Committee reported in 1883, and on the 27th July in that year Lord Waterford called attention to its report, and to the evidence taken by it. A long debate, of the same character as preceding debates upon the subject, followed, which I wound up with an indication of the proceedings of the Commissioners. No vote was taken.

down to that time opposed to the doctrines and action of the Land League. He was intimate with a friend of mine, who was then a land-agent in the same part of the country, a grandson of Lord Justice Knight-Bruce; and wrote to him on the 21st January 1882, shortly before the meeting of Parliament, a long uncomfortable letter, which (as he no doubt intended) his correspondent placed in my hands. I showed it to Lord Spencer and Mr. Forster, both of whom thought some of its suggestions important. What he dwelt upon most was the subject of arrears; he believed that in the south and west nearly one-half of the tenants were loaded with arrears which they could not pay, and which shut them out from the benefit of the Land Act. If the Government was in earnest in desiring to pacify Ireland without bloodshed, it must deal liberally with this question of arrears, assuming some responsibility itself, and not throwing the whole upon the landlords, who, as a body, by force of circumstances and by the faults of their ancestors, were placed in a very embarrassing position. The Act of 1881 conferred on every existing tenant a property in his farm, more or less valuable; and, if the question of arrears was to be settled, the Government must advance money for the payment of a large portion of the arrears on the security of that property. He sketched the outline of a plan for that purpose, and considered the failure of the Land Act an absolute certainty, unless some such step were taken. Then he said: "Leaseholders are excluded from the Act; and, in the present

temper of Irish landlords, you will hear more of them, I fear, unless the Government take a very decided line of action with a view of making the purchase clauses of the Act far more effective. There are many reasons why they should do so; the greatest of all is that any solution arrived at through them will be final. No other solution will."

Later events proved that, as to these matters, Mr. Mahony was a true prophet. The question of arrears soon came into prominence. It was the leading topic in a series of communications, direct and indirect, of members of the Nationalist party with Mr. Gladstone in the spring of 1882, which ended in what the Opposition chose to call the "Kilmainham Treaty." Those communications, while in progress, were unknown to myself and to most of my colleagues. It may have been necessary that they should be treated as confidential; and no blame could justly attach to the head of the Government for receiving and considering any authentic information as to the views and intentions of persons on whose action the peace of Ireland might depend, from whatever quarter it came. Mr. O'Donnell opened a correspondence with Mr. Herbert Gladstone, and Captain O'Shea[1] with the Prime Minister himself. Of the objects which those gentlemen, and others in the background whom they represented, had in view, different opinions might be entertained. They had more influence with Mr. Gladstone than

[1] Captain O'Shea's first letter to Mr. Gladstone was on the 8th April 1882.

to me, when I became acquainted with them, they seemed to deserve. He thought they meant capitulation; that the Land Act had conquered the League. But Mr. Forster, less sanguine, was of another mind. He thought their real purpose was to outwit the English, and to conquer by disarming the Irish Government. The time was approaching when the question of future measures for the repression of crime in Ireland must be decided; and it could not be doubted that it would be a great object with the Leaguers to prevent such legislation, if by any means they could. Not less naturally, they desired the release of the suspects then in prison, though about that nothing might be said. No bargain was, on either side, offered or made; certainly there was no promise on the part of the Government binding them to take or abstain from taking any particular course. In the absence of such a promise those who had held out conditional expectations as to their own conduct would remain free, unless perhaps they obtained everything which they professed to desire, which was not likely, and did not happen. In the event, they took advantage of their freedom; and no substantial change, either of tone, or of aims or methods, was discernible in them by an ordinary intelligence. Whether the course of events might have been in any respect different if the Phœnix Park murders had not taken place, nobody can know. The one thing which we now know certainly is (though, by myself at all events, it was not known or suspected then) that Gladstone's

mental attitude towards Parnell underwent a change; and that, notwithstanding the Phœnix Park murders, the change so wrought altered, by a gradual process, his views as to Irish policy.

It was early in April 1882 that the communications of which I have spoken began; they continued till the end of that month. On the 11th of April Captain O'Shea[1] saw Parnell, then in London on parole, who authorised him to tell Gladstone (as he did two days afterwards) that "if a satisfactory settlement of arrears could be arrived at, he should consider it his duty to use his personal influence for the purpose of assisting in the preservation of law and order in Ireland." On the 15th of April Gladstone replied:[2]—

> I think you assume the existence of a spirit on my part with which you can sympathise. Whether there can be any agreement upon the means or not, the end in view is of vast moment; and assuredly no resentment, or personal prejudice, or false shame, or other impediment extraneous to the matter, will prevent the Government from treading whatever path may most safely and shortly lead to the pacification of Ireland.

Chamberlain also was communicated with; he answered in the same spirit.

On the 22nd of April the question of arrears was considered by the Cabinet. On that occasion a

[1] Captain O'Shea gave a full account of the whole correspondence in the House of Commons on the 15th May 1882, which was the first time that I heard of anything more than the two documents which were circulated to the Cabinet.

[2] To Captain O'Shea.

memorandum by Herbert Gladstone as to the result, on that point, of his communications with O'Donnell appears to have been read; not, however, in such a way, or with such explanations, as to make what had been going on understood by myself.[1] The resolution of the Cabinet was unanimous, to deal with the question upon the lines which, from various quarters, had been suggested; and in a debate four days afterwards, on the second reading of an Arrears Bill brought in by Mr. Redmond (which Captain O'Shea declared to be really Parnell's), Gladstone said that the Bill "opened a favourable prospect for the working of the system of the Land Law in Ireland." Captain O'Shea reported this to Parnell,

[1] That memorandum and Mr. Herbert Gladstone's previous correspondence with Mr. O'Donnell were published by him in July 1888; and as he mentioned my name (among others) as present at that Cabinet, I wrote to the *Times* to say that the matter was new to me. Mr. W. E. Gladstone, in the following September, found the original memorandum, with an endorsement by himself to the effect that it had been read to the Cabinet of the 22nd July 1882, which satisfied me that the fact must have been so; and I wrote a second letter to the *Times* to say so, though no knowledge of the origin and history of the document had been conveyed to my own mind.

TO THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *12th September* 1888.

DEAR GLADSTONE—I must repeat the expression of my regret that serious illness prevented me from sooner answering your letter of the 17th August. The note found by you among your papers must necessarily be accepted by me as proof that the correspondence between Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. O'Donnell was, at some time and in some manner, communicated to a Cabinet in the spring of 1882. If sent in a box (as often happened) round the table, it may have (as has also happened to me as to other matters) failed practically to reach me, through preoccupation, or other accidents. Your words, I observe, are "*read in and to the Cabinet.*" Reading such a correspondence to the Cabinet would have given the matter

who replied on the 28th of April, in a letter intended for the Government, which was placed in Gladstone's hands by Captain O'Shea. That letter, with a minute of a conversation on the same subject between the Captain (who had in the meantime visited Parnell at Kilmainham) and Forster, were circulated to the Cabinet, which was summoned to meet and consider them on Monday, the 1st of May. The differences which had been for some time growing up between Forster and Gladstone then came to a point, and on that 1st of May Forster resigned, Lord Cowper at the same time relinquishing the office of Lord-Lieutenant, a step which he was led to take by private as well as public reasons.

much emphasis; and must, I should think, have been followed by some discussion or conversation upon the subject. This, I am still quite confident, did not happen in my presence. Your note does not give the date —it could hardly have been on the day on which Mr. Herbert Gladstone (whose statement related, not to the whole correspondence, but to one particular memorandum of his own) first sent a copy of that memorandum to Mr. Forster.

In my letter to the *Times* I was careful to speak of myself only, having made no inquiry from others. I am extremely sensible of the considerate way in which you excuse what you think must have been a failure of memory on my part, by acknowledging the similar failures which might also sometimes happen to yourself. I certainly do not pretend to have a memory which cannot fail. I am, however, confident, that if the communication of that correspondence, or of Mr. H. Gladstone's memorandum (however made) had really reached me at the time, I could not have forgotten it. The subsequent communications with Mr. Parnell, through the intervention of Captain O'Shea, made the strongest and most lasting impression upon me; and if I had known, when these papers were circulated to the Cabinet, that Mr. H. Gladstone had been so recently engaged in a correspondence, in some respects of like tendency, with another active member of the Irish "Nationalist" party, I am sure that both facts would have been, with equal clearness, impressed upon my memory. I propose, in accordance with what I understand to be your desire, to send a copy of your letter of the 17th August, and of my answer, to the *Times;* but I pause before doing so, to enable you to add anything further, if you should think it desirable.—Believe me, etc., SELBORNE.

The documents so circulated to the Cabinet are historical; but without them any account of those transactions would be incomplete.

Mr. Parnell's letter insisted on the "absolute necessity" of a settlement of the arrears question with public aid, by way of gift, not loan. "If" (he said) "the arrears question be settled upon the lines indicated by us, I have every confidence, a confidence shared by my colleagues, that the exertions which we should be able to make, strenuously and unremittingly, would be effective in stopping outrages and intimidation of all kinds." As permanent legislation of an ameliorating character, he urged the admission of leaseholders to the fair-rent section of the Land Act, and the "enormous advantage" to be derived from a full extension of the purchase clauses. Then after expressing a "strong hope" that the tenure clauses of the Act might be amended, by "some compromise to be carried out in this Session," he concluded:—

> The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched out to you would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the Land question, and would, I feel sure, enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal principles; and I believe that the Government, at the end of the Session, would from the state of the country feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with future coercive measures.

Mr. Forster's minute of Captain O'Shea's conversation with him, with the alteration of one word to make it conformable to the Captain's recollection, was

admitted to be correct. Accepting that alteration, it was :—

O'Shea, when asked whether the letter was all, said, "Doubtless, I could supplement it." Forster said, "It comes to this,—that, upon our doing certain things, he will help us to prevent outrages." O'Shea said, "Well, there may be fault in the expression, but the thing is done; if those words will not do, I must get others. But what is obtained is that the *organisation*[1] which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages will now be used to put them down, and that there will be a union in the Liberal party. Parnell hoped to make use of Sheridan,[2] and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to put down conspiracy and agitation (I am not sure which word was used), as he knew all the details in the west."

It was upon the question whether (or rather, *when*) Parnell, Dillon, and O'Kelly, the three members of Parliament then in custody at Kilmainham, and other suspects detained for similar causes, should be released that the final difference between Forster and Gladstone arose. Forster thought it necessary that one or other of three conditions should be fulfilled before this was done—either there should be some public declaration by the Nationalist leaders of a satisfactory and unambiguous character, which was not offered, and which (to be

[1] Captain O'Shea's word; Mr. Forster had written *conspiracy*.

[2] Sheridan had left the country, to avoid arrest upon suspicion of serious crime. This was known to Mr. Forster. But Mr. Parnell said in the House of Commons on the 15th of April 1882, and afterwards before the Special Commission in 1889, that he knew Sheridan only as one of the chief organisers of the Land League in Connaught, and had no reason to believe that he had ever incited to any crime. The Judges of the Special Commission accepted the explanation.

worth anything) must be spontaneous; or peace must be restored in Ireland, which was not yet done; or —the only remaining, and in fact the only practicable alternative—a new Act, of sufficient stringency for the effectual repression of crime and outrage and the intimidation out of which they arose, must be, not merely promised or introduced, but passed, notwithstanding the concluding words of Parnell's letter. I agreed with Forster as to the necessity for such an Act, and I placed no more trust in Parnell than he did. I should have resigned as he did, if the Cabinet of the 1st of May had not, by general consent, determined to bring in the necessary Bill, and to carry it through Parliament. I could not doubt that my colleagues would adhere to that resolution; and I felt sure that they would be supported in it by Parliament. The question whether the release of suspects should precede or follow the passing of such a Bill, if it was certain to be passed, did not seem to me, upon reflection, to be one on which I ought to part from my colleagues. Nor do I think it would have been so regarded by Forster himself, if the mutual confidence which had subsisted between him and Gladstone as to the conduct of Irish affairs, and which was indispensable for the performance of his duties, had remained unshaken.

Lord Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish succeeded Lord Cowper and Mr. Forster. Lord Frederick Cavendish possessed in a peculiar degree, personally and politically, Mr. Gladstone's confidence; and the alliances of all three with the Lyttelton

family united the Prime Minister with the new Viceroy and Chief Secretary by domestic as well as public ties.

A Committee of the Cabinet, of which Bright and myself were members, was appointed to prepare a draft or heads of the proposed new Bill for the repression of crime. We met before Lord Spencer left for Ireland, and agreed in his presence, and with his concurrence, upon the heads of a Bill, the same in substance as that which became law, except that provision would not have been made by it for the trial of heinous offences by Judges, without a jury.[1]

As to the "suspects," the decision of the Cabinet was that Parnell and the other two members of Parliament should be at once released, and the list of all others then in custody examined in Dublin, with a view to the release of all whose cases might appear to be similar. The three members of Parliament had been arrested and detained on suspicion (certified as required by the Statute) of "intimidation," or "incitement to intimidation," or "treasonable practices," and on no other ground. The Cabinet certainly did not regard them as having been improperly detained, without reasonable grounds for the suspicions certified as the causes for their detention. Its decision to

[1] It has often been said that the Crimes Act was introduced in consequence of the Phœnix Park murders. I never heard that statement made without contradicting it. I did so in the House of Lords on the 30th April 1883, when I first heard it repeated there, saying, that of all the modifications which were made in it after that event, only one (that referred to in the text) was of serious moment.

release them was founded entirely upon the belief or hope, entertained more strongly (no doubt) by some Ministers than by others, that their future conduct would be more conformable to law than their past had been; in which view the suspicions on which they had been arrested, though previously reasonable and well founded, would cease to be grounds for their further detention.

Six years afterwards, Mr. Gladstone, in a paper on "Mr. Forster and Ireland," which he contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*,[1] described that decision as "a unanimous judgment of the Cabinet of 1882," that Mr. Parnell and his fellow-prisoners were not associated with crime, and charged with inconsistency, on the ground of their having been parties to that supposed "judgment," all those members of that Cabinet who supported, in 1888, "a Parliamentary inquiry instituted, *inter alia*, in order to ascertain whether they" (*i.e.* Mr. Parnell and his fellow-prisoners) "were so associated or not." Mr. Gladstone (to use words applied by himself in the same paper to another writer) was, when he so wrote, unconsciously "importing into the transactions of an earlier period the ideas of a later one." In that representation I thought it impossible to acquiesce; and finding, on communicating with Lord Hartington, Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Northbrook, Lord Carlingford, and Lord Monk-Bretton, that their recollection and understanding of the facts were not different from my own, I published their letters,

[1] September 1888.

with one from myself, in the *Times* of the 21st September 1888.[1] I am led, for that reason, to dwell upon the matter more at length than I otherwise might.

The terms in which Mr. Gladstone announced the resolution of the Cabinet to the House of Commons on the 2nd of May 1882 were these :—

> I have to state that directions have been sent to Ireland for the release forthwith of the three members of this House who have been imprisoned since October last, under the powers given by the Protection of Person and Property Act. The list of persons similarly imprisoned will be carefully examined further, with a view to the release, in accordance with like principles and considerations, of all persons who are not believed to be associated with *the commission of* crime.

Lord Granville, on the same day, stated in the House of Lords that the resolution taken would not be applicable to those who *had committed crimes.* And on the 15th May following, Mr. Gladstone spoke, to the like effect as before, of "such of those suspected persons now in confinement as are not believed to be or suspected of being *implicated in* crime."

The word "crime" was, on those occasions, plainly used by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville to signify heinous offences, such as murder and other acts of violence; and when the "commission," or "association with the commission of," or "implication in"

[1] Mr. Gladstone was ready to have replied, if he could have used some papers in his possession, to which, if they could have been made public, I should have been equally willing to appeal. [See note at the end of this chapter.]

such crimes was spoken of, I could not myself understand anything else to be meant than that kind of complicity which, if established by proof, would make the suspected persons amenable to the law, as parties or accessories to the commission of particular crimes. And as the grounds of suspicion certified to Parliament could alone be looked at for the purpose of determining whether any suspect should be further detained or not, so the line between persons detained on suspicion of one kind of offence or another could only be drawn by reference to what had been so certified. It was not possible for the Cabinet to go into any inquiry as to other matters lying beyond and outside of those certificates; or even to investigate the facts, on which the "reasonable suspicion," expressed in those certificates, had in any particular case been founded; and upon that which it could not investigate it could not possibly pronounce judgment. It certainly had not received from Lord Cowper or Mr. Forster, or from any of their subordinates, information tending to exonerate any of the persons imprisoned from any suspicion under which they had laboured. As to the past connection, or freedom from connection, of those individuals with any course of action operating or aided by the use of criminal means, there were no materials whatever, known to or accessible by the members of the Cabinet generally, on which a judgment favourable to them could have been formed.

Lord Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish left for Ireland on the 5th of May; and on the next day

Lord Frederick and Mr. Burke were murdered. Whatever may have been Mr. Parnell's purpose and policy in his communications with the Government, it was certainly crossed, and not promoted, by that crime. When, on the 8th of May, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of the approaching introduction of the Crimes Bill, Mr. Parnell declared his "unqualified detestation"[1] of what had been done, on behalf (as he said) of his friends, and Irishmen generally, as well as himself. He "did not deny that it might be impossible for the Government to resist the situation, and that they felt themselves compelled to take some step or other in the direction indicated by the Prime Minister"; and he stated it to be his conviction, that the perpetrators of the deed had devised and carried it out, "as the deadliest blow which they had it in their power to deal against his hopes in connection with the new course on which the Government had just entered." It was apparent, from that speech, that, if no such blow had been struck, he hoped and expected to have been able to prevent the legislation, which he then admitted to be inevitable.

The sincerity of Mr. Parnell's condemnation of the Phœnix Park murders has been judicially[2] affirmed; nor, for my own part, should I have seen reason to call it in question, even if Mr. Burke had been the only victim, and if the celebrated letter which the

[1] He and Mr. Dillon and Mr. Davitt had previously made a like declaration in the public papers.

[2] By the Judges of the Special Commission in their Report dated 13th February 1890.

Times published had been genuine. Being sincere, it makes the proof, afforded by other facts, of the impossibility of the League assuming and maintaining an attitude of practical antagonism to the party of violence in Ireland all the stronger and more remarkable. No assistance was ever given towards the discovery of the perpetrators of those murders; when they were discovered and brought to punishment, the "Nationalist" press denounced the proceedings of the Government, and was sympathetic in its tone towards the criminals; and O'Donnell, who shot Carey for giving evidence against his fellow-murderers, was glorified as a hero and martyr.[1]

The Crimes Bill (which did not continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, but was otherwise as strong in its provisions as any law enacted for the preservation of peace in Ireland for more than half a century) was denounced by Parnell and his followers from the moment of its introduction,[2] and all possible resistance was offered to it. In Committee, it met with such obstruction, that the House had to sit for more than twenty-four hours together on Friday and Saturday, the 30th of June and 1st of July, with a prospect of continuing its labours on Sunday; which would have been done, if necessary. But the suspension of no less than sixteen Irish members, which their proceedings on the 1st of July made unavoidable, obviated that necessity. The Bill passed; and for

[1] See Report of the Judges, pp. 69, 72, 73, 74 (Report of the Special Commission of 1888, as presented to Parliament, C. 5891).

[2] 11th May 1882.

three years, under Lord Spencer's Viceroyalty, it was firmly administered; and had the effect of largely reducing the amount of crime and outrage in Ireland. It was never found necessary to bring the clause enabling capital and other great crimes to be tried by judges without juries into operation.

The Arrears Bill, following in its principle and in its chief details Parnell's proposals, was introduced on the 15th of May, and passed, without serious difficulty, through both Houses. It was a measure fairly conceived in the interest of both landlord and tenant. On the application of either landlord or tenant of any holding not above £30 yearly value by Griffith's valuation, and on payment of one year's rent by the tenant, and proof before the Land Commission of his inability to pay the rest, the State was to contribute a sum not exceeding one year's rent, or half the total arrears. On these terms, all further arrear, if there should be any remaining upon the same holding, was to be cancelled. No other change in the Land Acts was made. If any such change had been regarded with favour by the Cabinet (which I have no reason to believe), it could not then have been carried.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

30 PORTLAND PLACE, *26th January* 1882.

. . . I do not think there was ever so unfortunate a Government; domestic affairs were never so difficult; and abroad, new troubles seem to be constantly springing up. No Govern-

ment, surely, could ever have borne greater goodwill to Ireland; and under no Government has Ireland been so lawless and disaffected, since the seventeenth century, except in times of actual rebellion. We yielded to what we thought an overwhelming necessity, in remodelling by law the tenure of land by the Irish peasantry; and, down to this moment, it is doubtful whether we shall have accomplished the good we intended, in one direction, while there is only too much appearance of greater hardships being inflicted, in another, than we at all contemplated. However, I am happy to be able to say that the Irish Government do now report that there is a clear, substantial, and progressive improvement; and all we can do is to pray that, if we are patient, our hopes may be fulfilled in the end.—Yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

[Mr. Gladstone wrote[1] that having read Lord Selborne's letter to the *Times* and the appended extracts, he felt that the public could not be satisfied if the question were left open as to whether or no, in the first days of May 1882, it had been the deliberate intention of the Cabinet to confine the release of the suspects (including three members of Parliament who were then in prison), to persons who were believed by the Cabinet *not* to be associated with the commission of crime. He therefore considered that it would be justly expected that all the evidence should be produced which might tend to its elucidation. For this purpose he desired that Lord Selborne should join with him in applying to Her Majesty for permission to publish any communication or proceedings within the Cabinet which might throw light upon the question raised by Mr. Gladstone in the *Nineteenth Century*. He added that these documents

[1] Date 21st September 1888.

would be entirely open to Lord Selborne's examination before publication. As to the passage from Hansard cited by Lord Selborne in his letter to the *Times*, Mr. Gladstone conceived that it fully bore out his statement in the *Nineteenth Century*.

TO THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE

22nd September 1888.

As to the passage in Hansard, the question is not whether it properly stated the intentions of the Cabinet,—all the members of the Cabinet were satisfied with it at the time. The question is, what they understood, and were entitled to understand, it to *mean*. On that point I have stated my view in the letter to the *Times*.

What I would myself suggest is, that you should ask for leave (with my concurrence) to publish any contemporaneous minutes or minute made by yourself, of the Resolution (or Resolutions) of the Cabinet, on which your announcement to the House of Commons, reported in that passage of Hansard, was founded—or (unless that would be an improper thing to ask) any letter or letters of your own as Prime Minister, to Her Majesty, reporting that Resolution, or those Resolutions of the Cabinet.—Believe me, dear Gladstone, yours, SELBORNE.

P.S.—I am glad that you are sensible of my desire, and that of others, to avoid anything in the *manner* of doing what seemed to us necessary, which might seem personally disrespectful to you. And I thank you for reciprocating the feeling which actuated us in that respect.

This postscript referred to one in Mr. Gladstone's letter of 21st September, in which he wrote that while he regretted exceedingly Lord Selborne's having found it necessary to question his statement in the *Nineteenth Century*, he acknowledged with pleasure that Lord Selborne had kept his letter entirely free, as had also his late colleagues, each for himself, from

personal matter; and Mr. Gladstone further assured Lord Selborne that he would endeavour to do the like; and that he would not have touched on the matter in the *Nineteenth Century*, had he not felt that, from his own point of view, it was an "absolute debt of justice to Mr. Parnell."

Mr. Gladstone, in anticipation of Her Majesty's reply, sent the four documents, from which he desired to quote, with the passages in brackets which he intended to extract.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 28*th September* 1888.

DEAR GLADSTONE—I return the enclosed papers with thanks. I have to ask pardon for having, on the margin of No. 1, placed *in ink*—inadvertently—before the four first paragraphs, the letters (*A*) (*B*) (*C*) and (*D*). I did so, to avoid confusion between your own pencil marks, and my marks. But, as the document is an original, it struck me, as soon as it was done, that I had done wrong. It appears to me that *B* and *C* (down to "*Dublin*") ought to be extracted *in full*, to make your own proposed extract from *B* clearly intelligible, and not to omit what follows, in *C*, as to the proposed examination of the general list of suspects in Dublin. But there is an omission from the extracts marked by you as intended to be taken from No. 2 (the letter of 1st May 1882), of far greater importance, in my view, which I must ask you to have the goodness to supply, or to suffer me to do so. I think it is necessary that *the whole of the second paragraph* (beginning, "it is not possible," and ending "toleration of outrage"), should be added to the first paragraph, which alone you propose to extract. The last words of this second paragraph are, in my judgment, extremely material.—Believe me, etc., SELBORNE.

To this Mr. Gladstone replied[1] that the additions proposed to be added to the extracts, were not

[1] Date of letter, 30th September 1888.

relevant to his purpose, though they might be to the defence of the policy; which had not been in his mind, and which probably had been in Lord Selborne's. This being so, as all matters *not* relevant would tend to dissipate attention, he did not wish to make these insertions, but he would have no objection to their publication by Lord Selborne. There must, however, be some delay as he had that day heard that Her Majesty prohibited publication in a newspaper or periodical, though she would allow it in the House of Commons. This Mr. Gladstone considered, in such a case, to be without a precedent, and he, therefore, could not accept. As the Queen said nothing in regard to an independent publication in the form of tract or letter, he would ask leave for that. He added that any such composition would be open to reply.

Mr. Gladstone wrote again on 12th October, that not having received an answer to his letter, asking leave to publish in an independent form in a tract or letter, he had decided that it was his duty to relieve Her Majesty from embarrassment and himself from uncertainty by writing to withdraw his application. He did not in any way complain, and was very desirous to keep the Queen's name out of the affair. He was perfectly content to stand upon the terms of his announcement to the House of Commons, of which he could not accept the construction placed on it by Lord Selborne, while he did not deny Lord Selborne's right to construe it as he pleased.]

CHAPTER XXV

EGYPT—JOHN BRIGHT—WILLIAM GEORGE WARD—SIR GEORGE GREY—DR. PUSEY—MR. GREEN OF MILES PLATTING—ARCHBISHOP TAIT—OPENING OF NEW LAW COURTS — EARLDOM — MARRIAGE OF MY CHILDREN.

1882

THE interest of public affairs in 1882 was divided between Ireland and Egypt.

When I look back upon our armed intervention, which then took place, in the affairs of Egypt, I cannot help feeling that, although successful, it was at variance with the principles which have generally governed our foreign policy; and that the course of events might perhaps have been different, if Mr. Gladstone's responsibility for the foreign department had been direct and immediate. He had many great gifts; but I doubt whether the power of interesting himself actively and energetically in more than one great matter at a time was one of them.[1]

[1] My impression on this point was shared by some acute outside observers who knew him well. Lord Houghton, writing on the 1st October 1875 to Mr. George Bunsen, said, "Gladstone, with that *one-*

Arabi Pasha professed to be a patriot and a reformer, and perhaps had as good a title to be so considered as most of those organisers of revolutions, with whom it has been the habit of the British people, and of many of its leading politicians, to sympathise. "Egypt for the Egyptians," was a cry which had a good sound; and it succeeded so far as to make the Khedive for a time a cypher in Arabi's hands. The Sultan would willingly have used that opportunity to recover his lost power in Egypt, and would not have scrupled to make Arabi his instrument. The revolution, if suffered to take its course, might perhaps not have come to much more than a change in the administration, or possibly in the person of the Khedive. Why, then, did we interfere? Lord Granville in September 1881, during the time when other Ministers were taking their rest, when I myself was ill, and when the meetings of the Cabinet were suspended, had given a pledge of support to the Khedive. The French Foreign Office did the same. The English and French Governments were then acting in concert as to Egypt, and it was supposed that their concert would continue. But the French Government underwent a change, and receded from that understanding; leaving us bound by our engagement to the Khedive, though France was no longer willing to share its burdens. This was the direct and proximate cause of our interference; but we should never have entered into such an engagement, or (if

idea-at-a-time faculty which is his strength and his weakness" (*Life of Lord Houghton*, by Mr. Wemyss Reid, vol. ii. p. 344).

we had) we might probably have found some way of escape from it, if Egypt had been to us like any other country. The real cause was, that a complication of British interests which we could not afford to disregard had grown up there, after the opening of the Suez Canal. From a cosmopolitan point of view, Lord Palmerston's hostility to that undertaking might seem narrow-minded; but from a British, it was sagacious enough. That Great Britain should be dependent upon such an artificial work for her commerce with the East and her communications with India, was a very serious matter, and might be dangerous in circumstances against which no foresight could provide. The situation of the Canal upon Egyptian territory; its government by a joint-stock company, under an Egyptian charter, with a social domicile in Egypt and the main seat of its administration in Paris; its French management, and the distribution of its capital between the shares acquired by the British Government from the Khedive and those in private (chiefly French) hands,—all these were circumstances creating a very inconvenient tangle of Egyptian, British, and French interests. The public debt of Egypt, to secure which some of her domains and revenues were mortgaged, was also in foreign, chiefly British and French, hands. Elsewhere, the foreign creditors of indebted States have had to look after their own interests, and the fulfilment of the engagements made with them has not been treated as matter of international obligation. But in this, as well as other respects, the relations

between Egypt and foreign nations were peculiar; public diplomacy was called in to settle them, and compacts were made, the effect of which was to place the financial affairs and administration of Egypt under a joint management ("dual control" it was called) of public agents appointed by the French and British Governments. In these ways, a Foreign Protectorate was established over Egypt. "Egypt for the Egyptians," if it meant anything, meant the overthrow of that whole system; which would not have been quietly borne by the classes interested, in France or elsewhere. If public opinion in England might have endured it, it would not in France. We were in this dilemma, that to retire from interference in the domestic affairs of Egypt would have been to throw them into the hands of France; and to this we could not be indifferent. As it was, the local administrators of the Canal went some way towards taking part with Arabi against us; and it was not without difficulty that a conflict with M. Lesseps and his representatives, in which they would doubtless have appealed for support to the French Government, was avoided. That danger seemed at one moment so imminent, that a Cabinet was summoned to consider it in the middle of September 1882, just about the time of the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. I came up for it with Sir William Harcourt from Cuffnells near Lyndhurst, where I was upon a visit to him; and sat up all night composing a memorandum upon the legal position of the Canal, and the means, if such a necessity should arise, of asserting for the purposes of

military defence, over the Canal as elsewhere, the territorial rights of the Egyptian Government.

The view which I took of this whole question, and which led me to acquiesce in all that was done, was that we had been inevitably drawn or driven into a situation, from which active interference to re-establish the Khedive's authority was the only way of escape. Mr. Bright endured it till the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria, and then left the Cabinet. But, if we were right before, we could hardly have been wrong then. To stand by and suffer our fleet in the harbour of Alexandria to be threatened with destruction by the augmentation, going on from day to day, of the strength and offensive power of those forts, was out of the question. Their destruction or capture was indispensable for the safety of our ships; no more was done than was necessary for that purpose; we did not (as some persons insisted on saying) bombard the city.[1]

This was the final close of John Bright's official and parliamentary career; though, after the change of Gladstone's Irish policy in 1886, his dissent from and reprobation of it was often publicly expressed. He was a typical Englishman, strong and straight in everything. In the nervous masculine style of oratory he excelled, at his best, all other men of his time. He spoke his mind with great directness and distinctness, drawing his words from the "well of English undefiled," of which he was

[1] I more than once publicly protested against that accusation, particularly in the House of Lords on the 16th February 1883.

a loving student,—chiefly the English Bible and Milton. They came down with the force of a sledge-hammer, not seldom relieved by genuine humour; and he was not sparing of the rough side of his tongue. This caused his character to be misunderstood for a time by those to whom he was opposed; but it was seen, by degrees, that he had a virtue not common among modern politicians, and very rare indeed in popular leaders. He was no mere worshipper or flatterer of public opinion; he opposed it when he thought it wrong, with the same vigour and plainness of speech and unflinching courage with which he was accustomed to advocate popular rights. He had prejudices of birth and education, strong like the rest of his nature; and his spirit and temperament were those of an ancient Republican. But he understood the value of law as the mainstay of liberty, and he would have stood up against all mankind for the Queen, towards whom he had much of the true old-fashioned loyalty. I differed greatly from some of his opinions; and he was unfriendly to institutions which I would have laid down my life to defend. But, nevertheless, the better I knew him, the more my esteem and regard for him grew; and I felt much his departure from the Cabinet,[1] especially after the loss of Mr. Forster and the Duke of Argyll. My feelings towards him were strongly expressed at the time of his retirement, and were on his part warmly reciprocated.

[1] His place in it (all the Ministers usually sit in the same places) was next to my own.

132 PICCADILLY, 10*th August* 1882.

MY DEAR LORD SELBORNE — I cannot leave town without thanking you for your most kind letter on my retiring from the Government. I had no option, as I think my friends generally admit. I felt it a privilege to have my place next to you in the meeting of the Cabinet, and I have left it with great regret. I can only hope that what I have condemned in the policy of the Government may turn out less evil than I fear, but I see nothing that can compensate for the innocent blood that must be shed.

To-night you will settle the Arrears Bill, and do what is possible to give a chance of peace to Ireland. The sky in that quarter looks somewhat more clear, and I hope the Government will soon be able to turn to measures useful and acceptable to the United Kingdom.

I shall hold in lively remembrance your kindnesses to me. —Always very sincerely yours, JOHN BRIGHT.

On the 24th of May, I saw at Winchester, for the last time, my old friend and schoolfellow, William George Ward.[1] After he joined the Church of Rome, many years passed without our meeting. In 1878 we met in the Metaphysical Society; and in June 1881 my wife and I saw him several times while we were on a visit to the Poet Laureate and Mrs. Tennyson at Farringford, near Freshwater. He had a large house, inherited from an uncle at Cowes, and was the owner of a considerable estate in the island; but he preferred to live a retired life in a villa, which he had built within an easy distance from the Tennysons. I never knew a man so little changed by time and circumstances. He had still

[1] See *Memorials*, Part I.

the quaintness, simplicity, and homeliness of his youth; the same thoroughgoing intellectual courage, dialectical skill, and unreserve of thought and speech. Hearing, on one of our visits to my son-in-law and daughter at Winchester, that he was in lodgings there, we went to call on him, and had some interesting conversation about Ireland. His views and my own were the same, as to the immorality of the proceedings to which the majority of the Roman Catholic Bishops and clergy there appeared to give their countenance. When we parted, he told us, with characteristic cheerfulness, that he had a mortal disease, and must soon die,—as he did, on the 6th of July following. Lord Tennyson, in six lines,[1] has drawn his character :—

> Farewell, whose living like I shall not find,
> Whose faith and work were bells of full accord,
> My friend, the most unworldly of mankind,
> Most generous of all Ultramontanes, Ward,
> How subtle at tierce and quart of mind with mind,
> How loyal in the following of thy Lord!

At Whitsuntide 1882 we visited my kinsman, Sir Archdale Palmer, at Wanlip, for the opening of a new park at Leicester by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and I was much interested in seeing Wanlip, the home of my ancestors, and the church filled with their monuments.

On the 9th of September we lost one of our oldest and most cherished friends,—Sir George Grey.

[1] Mr. Wilfrid Ward has prefixed them to his interesting account of his father's earlier years, entitled, *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement.*

His near relation to my wife's mother, her great affection for him, the kindness which he and Lady Grey always showed to ourselves, and my estimate of his character, find their place in the first part of these *Memorials*. He was among the ablest and most energetic, as well as the most virtuous and disinterested, public servants of his day. I never knew him do an act, or speak a word, in which an enemy could find cause for reproach, or a friend for regret. His grandson Edward, the heir of his honours, my son's school-fellow at Winchester, has received from nature gifts of person and mind not unworthy of his parentage; and it has been, and shall never cease to be, my prayer, that he may grow more like his grandfather the longer he lives.

Dr. Pusey[1] died, also an old man, on the 16th of September, having survived all his original coadjutors in the movement associated with his name, except Cardinal Newman; and all but a very few of its early disciples. He was a power in the Church of England greater than Archbishop or Bishop, for almost half a century; and for sixteen years before his death was the sole leader of his party. To the cause which that party represented he devoted, with unswerving self-sacrifice, many great gifts,—birth, high station in the University, unwearied industry, solid learning. His zeal was apostolic, his life saintly; he was a voluminous writer, a powerful preacher, not, like John Wesley, to the common people, but to learned hearers and sensitive religious

[1] See *Memorials*, Part I.

minds among the clergy and educated laity. It was among these that he gathered followers; through these his influence reached the world. And upon him, as upon Wesley, the influence of his followers reacted. He would not (I think), if it had rested with him, have encouraged, but he did not restrain, their tendencies to emancipate themselves from the living authority of the Church to which they belonged: the end of which has not yet been seen. In the crisis of the affairs of the Church of England which appears to be approaching, those tendencies will probably receive whatever may be their natural development, and will bear their proper fruit. Until then, a just and final estimate of Dr. Pusey's work cannot be made.

While the older generation was thus passing away, another was coming forward. My brother Edwin's only son, Edwin James, stood for the foundation at Winchester in July 1882, and came in above all competitors at the head of the list. Now, when I write, he is a scholar of Balliol.[1] On the 2nd of October my daughter Mary, already the mother of two girls, gave an heir to the house of Waldegrave.

We spent part of September in that year in a driving tour through the south-western counties to Devonshire, where we were the guests of Lord Coleridge at Ottery, and of Lord Devon at Powderham. We

[1] Written in 1889. He has since finished his undergraduate course, otherwise honourably distinguished, by taking a first class in the Classical School: and has been elected a Fellow of his College (December 1891).

passed some days with Sir William and Lady Harcourt in the New Forest, of which we saw, under their auspices, the most interesting parts. Among our other halting-places on the road was Seaton, which I then revisited for the first time since 1833, exploring with much pleasure my old haunts. While we were at Ottery, the Mayor and Corporation of Exeter gave an entertainment to our host the Chief Justice and myself; and in returning thanks for my health, I told the story of the prophecy, in 1833, by the poet of "Seaton Beach," which made me a Judge, and my fellow-pupil Tait a Bishop.[1]

Charles Wood, now Viscount Halifax, President of the English Church Union, was at Powderham. I had much conversation with him, which afterwards proved useful, about a case then exercising the minds of Churchmen, that of the Rev. James Faithorne Green, incumbent of Miles Platting at Manchester, who was in Lancaster Gaol for disobeying an order of the Court of Arches. Proceedings had been taken against him, under the Statute of 1874, for certain ceremonial practices favoured by the "English Church Union," but condemned as unlawful by the Courts. An "inhibition" was passed against him, on the 16th August 1879; he disobeyed it, and was imprisoned under the Act of George III.,[2] which substituted imprisonment for excommunication as the means of enforcing

[1] See *Memorials*, Part I. vol. i. pp. 94, 95. (And see *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. pp. 46, 47.)

[2] 53 George III. cap. 127.

orders of the Ecclesiastical Courts. That Act, and a later Act[1] amending it, provided for the release of such a prisoner, on his obedience or submission, or by the consent of the other parties to the suit—neither of which conditions seemed in this case likely to be fulfilled: but they were silent as to any other state of circumstances. But the Statute of 1874 gave to the disobedience of a beneficed clergyman, prolonged for three years from the date of the inhibition, the effect of an absolute sentence of deprivation, and of incapacity to be again presented to the same benefice; so securing, finally and effectually, and without submission on his part, all the objects for which the proceedings against him had been taken, and the inhibition granted. In Mr. Green's case the three years would expire, and the benefice of Miles Platting would be vacated under the Statute, on the 16th of August 1882. Great efforts were in the meantime made by those who sympathised with him to obtain his release by means of some exercise of the Royal Prerogative. Dr. Walter Phillimore submitted to Mr. Gladstone an argument, fortified by precedents, to show that this might be done. But the precedents only proved, that, when an offence against the law was unconditionally pardoned, all its penal consequences ceased. This was indisputable. Mr. Gladstone consulted me, and I wrote on the 15th March 1882:—

With respect to Dr. Phillimore's observations upon the circumstances of this case, I think it my duty to observe, that

[1] 3 & 4 Vict. cap. 93.

those who advise the Crown cannot shut their eyes to the real cause of Mr. Green's imprisonment, and of his neglect to purge his contempt in the ordinary way; which alone has given occasion for any appeal to the Prerogative (or assumed Prerogative) of the Crown. That cause is the assertion of a moral or religious obligation to resist the authority of Acts of Parliament, and of Courts established by them. Mr. Green, in this respect, is not a solitary individual representing some peculiar idiosyncrasy of his own, but is the representative, and acts under the influence, of a considerable party organised and associated together to promote and encourage resistance to the law. I am unable to conceive that, if there were a similar organisation to resist, on similar grounds, the authority of any other Court established by Parliament, it could be regarded as a proper or constitutional exercise of the Prerogative to pardon (if it could legally be done) the contempt of a suitor or defendant who refused to obey the orders or recognise the authority of those Courts, and so, in effect, to encourage disobedience to them. If it should be the opinion of the advisers of the Crown, that any laws which such persons may have refused to obey put too much strain upon their consciences, or that the mischief and scandal of this sort of organised rebellion against public authority might make it expedient to alter or relax the law in their favour, the proper way of doing this seems, manifestly, to be by legislation, and not by an extraordinary and unprecedented exercise of a (perhaps doubtful) Royal Prerogative.

I had afterwards some correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury upon the same subject, to whom I stated my willingness to assent to any reasonable proposition for enabling the authorities of the Church to dispense with the law of strict Ritual Uniformity, in order to avoid greater evils. The Bishops, on consideration, did not think it expedient to take any action of that kind, while the Royal Commission on the Ecclesiastical Courts was sitting; but they agreed upon a Bill, which was brought into

the House of Lords by the Primate, to supply what appeared to be wanting in the Acts under which Mr. Green was imprisoned; having first ascertained that it would be favourably received by Mr. Gladstone and myself. If passed, it would have enabled the Judge under whose order any clergyman was imprisoned for contumacy, upon the application of the Metropolitan of the Province, to take all the circumstances of the case into his consideration, without either submission or consent; and, if he thought it right, to release the prisoner. It was read a second time on the 16th of May; but it soon became apparent that it could not become law in that session; and there was again much urgency that some other means of delivering Mr. Green should be found.

My opinion was, that nothing could be done while Mr. Green was still Vicar of Miles Platting; but that it might be otherwise, when, by the operation of the Statute of 1874, he had ceased to be so. As soon, therefore, as the day (August 16th) arrived, when the avoidance of the living under the Statute was complete, I wrote to Mr. Gladstone, suggesting that the Government should take up the question. Consultations followed between myself and the Attorney-General and Home Secretary; the idea of a conditional pardon did not commend itself to them, nor did they see their way to any other solution. It was publicly stated, on Mr. Gladstone's authority, that the matter was in my hands; which brought upon me a flood of letters. The responsibility thus cast upon me was not diminished by the uncertainty as to what

Mr. Green might do, if he were released. Would he acquiesce in the Statutory avoidance of his benefice, or would he attempt to regain possession of his church, and enter into another unseemly contest with the law? Speeches were made at meetings of the "English Church Union" and elsewhere, which seemed to point in the latter direction:—it was at all events certain, that no promise or assurance on that point was likely to be given. But I drew the contrary inference, from letters which I myself and Mr. Gladstone had received, in which the Statutory avoidance of the benefice was urged by Mr. Green's friends as a reason why the Government should take some action for his release. I felt sure that honourable men would not urge that argument, if they intended, as soon as the object of their intercession was at large, to turn round and encourage him to contradict it. And I was satisfied, by what Charles Wood said to me at Powderham (though no promise was given), that his advice, which was sure to be potent with Mr. Green, would be in favour of submission.

Before that point was reached, six weeks had run out, and Mr. Gladstone and myself became anxious. On the 9th of October I drew up a paper, going fully into the case; which (after ascertaining that the Attorney-General and the Home Secretary did not dissent from it) I communicated, with Mr. Gladstone's approval, to the Bishop of Manchester[1] and Lord Penzance. My conclusions were, that, as Mr. Green

[1] Dr. Fraser.

was deprived of his benefice, the proceedings against him had received their full and final effect in law, accomplishing the whole object for which the inhibition had been issued, and making the inhibition itself, and the imprisonment founded upon it, no longer necessary for maintaining the authority of the law. And, assuming that, in the absence of any application by the promoters of the suit, or by Mr. Green himself, some representation on which the Court of Arches could act must be made to it, I thought there was no good reason why this should not be done by any authority capable of representing what I conceived to be the public interest in the matter; suggesting, as the most proper authority, the Bishop of Manchester, if willing to take upon himself that responsibility; or, if he should be otherwise advised, the Attorney-General. This led to a correspondence between myself and the Bishop of Manchester: and, in the result, his Lordship did what was suggested,[1] and Lord Penzance made the necessary order for Mr. Green's release. My expectation, that the Statutory avoidance of the living of Miles Platting would be acquiesced in without contest, was fulfilled.

On the morning of the 3rd December 1882, the day appointed for the opening of the New Law Courts (in which, if it had been possible, he would have taken a prominent part), Archbishop Tait died.[2]

[1] Archbishop Tait appears to have made the same suggestion (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 472).

[2] His health had been failing since the end of the session of

He had been my friend for fifty-two years. In the personal qualities which fit men for high station, he was not the least among the Primates who, since 1688, have filled the throne of Canterbury. Those of his predecessors whom he most resembled were Tillotson and Wake; though he was not, like one of them, a great preacher, or, like the other, a learned controversialist.

His intellect was of a type frequent among his countrymen; dry and strong, cautious without timidity, tenacious and practical. His theology, a mixture of Evangelical and Broad, reflected his character. The "Tractarian" movement found no favour with him: when a tutor at Oxford he was active in opposing its developments. When Bishop of London, he took part in the decision of the "Essays and Reviews" case, which gave Rationalism the benefit of those principles of judgment, which, in favour of extreme Calvinism, had been applied to the Gorham case. He bestowed his confidence and his patronage on some, who went much farther in a latitudinarian direction than he did himself. If, when Primate, he did not succeed better than others in the government of the Church, it was only because he was not in sympathy with the prevailing current of opinion among the more active clergy, and they were not in sympathy with him. The greatest mistake which he made was when, in 1874, he was induced,

Parliament. (All that follows was written before the publication of the Archbishop's *Life*: and on revision, after reading that very interesting work, I have seen no reason for altering it.)

by the extravagance of some Ritualists and a clamour against the Bishops for not putting them down, to propose an ill-considered measure of legislation, and to accept in lieu of it, from Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Cairns, another still more open to objection. The effect was to prove, that those who raised the clamour did not represent a force of opinion sufficient to give the Bishops moral support when they endeavoured to execute the law: every such attempt ended in manifestations of sympathy with the clergy against whom proceedings were taken, which made them more obstinate than before. Of this, the Archbishop himself lived to be sensible: one of his last acts was to extend, to some who had given a great deal of trouble in that way, the same latitude of indulgence which had been allowed to extreme men of other schools, and towards which his own tolerant spirit might have always inclined him in principle. And in other ways,—by procuring the appointment of the Royal Commission on the Ecclesiastical Courts, by endeavouring to find a way to the better representation of the clergy in Convocation, and by attempting, in the last year of his life, to facilitate the release of clergymen imprisoned for contumacy,—he gave proofs, that his wisdom and largeness of mind increased with advancing years, and that he desired to consider impartially, and to promote as far as he could, the reasonable wishes of all classes of churchmen. All men respected him, whether they differed from him in opinion or not.

In the House of Lords, though his views of politics, to which he had given much attention from his youth, were not those of the majority, he was a weighty speaker, more in touch with his hearers, and more influential, than any one else whom I have heard from the Episcopal Bench. There were those, no doubt, who excelled him in the arts of rhetoric, in versatility, and in humour—which, however, in Bishops, may be dangerous gifts. Archbishop Tait was by no means wanting in humour, or in oratorical power; he had a strong voice, and an effective delivery. But he never forgot that there is a style which does, and a style which does not, become a Bishop; and he never deviated from the gravity and dignity which became his station and character.

If he had lived in happier times, he might have been a great ruler of the Church; to be a better or fairer was hardly possible.

The Queen, when the New Law Courts were approaching completion, graciously consented, at my request, to open them in person; and the ceremony took place on the 3rd of December, in the central hall of the building, a Gothic chamber of great size, long and lofty in proportion to its breadth. The day, which was bright and clear, began by my receiving the Judges at breakfast, in the House of Lords. From thence we moved in procession, in our State robes, down Westminster Hall, taking solemn leave of that ancient home of English justice; and drove in the same order to the new Courts. The Hall, as we entered it, presented a striking and splendid sight.

At the upper end was a dais, with a raised platform in its centre, upon which stood the Queen's throne. Behind and around it were places for the Prince of Wales (who wore a barrister's gown over his uniform), the other members of the Royal Family and those in attendance, for the Judges, the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London, the Prime Minister, and the officers of State who were to take part in the ceremony:—many of them, in robes and uniforms, already there. Below, the whole length of the Hall, to the right of the throne, was filled by lawyers of all ranks under that of the Judicature of the Supreme Court, in full professional costume; and to the left, on the other side of the space kept clear for the passage of the Queen's procession, by representatives of all that was illustrious in the State or eminent in arts, literature, science, and general society, ladies as well as men; blazing in jewels and in every variety of colour. The Queen's reception, by the people who everywhere lined the streets, was enthusiastic, and gratified her much, as did the other events of the day.

When Her Majesty's approach was announced, the whole body of the Judges went in procession down the central space of the Hall to meet her, in due order of seniority; myself, as Chancellor, at their head. Mr. Gladstone, robed in the gold-brocade gown (like my own) which he had worn when Chancellor of the Exchequer, met us in the porch. When the Royal carriages drove up, I advanced to the Strand entrance of the building to receive Her Majesty; and, after a

short pause to enable the rest of the Royal party to follow her, the procession returned up the Hall to the dais in reverse order, conducting Her Majesty to her throne: in front of which she was pleased to remain standing. When all had taken their places, George Shaw Lefevre, the First Commissioner of Works, came forward, and presented on a cushion the key of the building. The Queen took it; and, kneeling before her, I received it from her hands.[1] She delivered it with these words:—

My Lord Chancellor—I deliver into your charge, with this key,[1] the care of these Courts of Law. I trust that the uniting together in one place of the various branches of Judicature in this my Supreme Court will conduce to the more efficient and speedy administration of justice to my subjects; and I have all confidence that the independence and learning of the Judges, supported by the integrity and ability of the other members of the profession of the law, will prove in the future, as they have been in times past, a chief security for the rights of my Crown and the liberties of my people.

The speech in which I replied (with the exception of some words added on the spur of the moment in consequence of the news, just received, of Archbishop Tait's death), was written by me, and learned by heart:—The Queen had asked to see it beforehand, and returned it with her approval. I had read it to the Judges a few days before, and had the pleasure of knowing that they were well satisfied with it—

May it please Your Majesty—In the name and on behalf of the assembled Judges of Your Majesty's Supreme Court of

[1] The key is preserved at Blackmoor, with other trophies of my Chancellorship.

Judicature, I accept the charge which Your Majesty has been pleased to lay upon me; and I ask permission to offer to Your Majesty the humble expression of our loyal devotion to Your Majesty's Person and Throne, and of our gratitude for the part which Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to take in the solemnity of this day.

This building, now complete, was authorised by Your Majesty with the concurrence of Parliament in the year 1865; and it has been in progress for more than eight years, under the hands of a great architect, to whom it has not been permitted to see this day. Your Majesty, whose strength of sympathy is so well known to us all, will, I am sure, share the feelings of your subjects when they think of those who are no longer with us,—of the architect whom we have lost, and of that good Prelate, venerable as much for his wisdom and learning as for his great office, from whom we might have hoped, not many days since, to hear the Divine blessing invoked upon us to-day. Man passes away; but his works remain. These Royal Courts of Justice, stately enough to satisfy even those who are most accustomed to Westminster Hall, will not, like Westminster Hall, recall the memories of Norman or Plantagenet, of Tudor or Stuart kings; but they will be for ever associated with the name of Your Majesty, and with the glories of a reign, happy, beyond all which have preceded it, in those qualities of the Sovereign which have caused Your Majesty to be so universally beloved and revered, in the advancement of all the arts of civilisation, and in the general peace and prosperity of the British people.

Among the Legislative improvements which have distinguished Your Majesty's Reign, not the least has been the consolidation and union of the several branches of the Supreme Judicature, which formerly exercised divided jurisdiction. To give full effect to that great change, it was necessary that the different Courts and Offices should be brought together in one edifice, fit for the duties which they have to perform. This has, at last, been done: and Your Majesty, by your gracious presence here to-day, has given a signal proof of your care for that justice, which will here be administered in your name. It was, indeed, fitting and worthy of Your Majesty, that these Royal Courts should be dedicated to their future uses by the Sovereign of

these Realms, whose noblest Prerogatives are Justice and Mercy, and from whom all jurisdiction, within the British Dominions, is derived.

Your Majesty's Judges are deeply sensible [1] of their own many shortcomings, and of their need of that assistance which they have constantly received from the Bar of England, and from the other members of the Legal Profession. But, encouraged by Your Majesty's gracious approval, and having before them the examples of a long line of illustrious predecessors, they have endeavoured, and will always endeavour, to fulfil the great duties entrusted to them, with fidelity to Your Majesty, with zeal for the public service, with firmness, impartiality, and integrity; in the fear of God, and without fear of man.

That they, and their successors, may be enabled truly to do justice within these walls, as long as the British name shall endure; that the blessing of the Almighty may rest upon their labours; that the law which they administer may ever be a terror to evil-doers, and a strength and support to those who have right on their side; and that Your Majesty may be preserved for many future years still to shed fresh lustre upon a Throne founded on law, sustained by justice, and established in the hearts of Your Majesty's people, is the fervent Prayer of all the Judges of Your Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature, for whom, on this august occasion, it has been my privilege to address Your Majesty.

A prayer was then offered by the Archbishop of York; and after it, Sir William Harcourt, the Home Secretary, by the Queen's command, declared the Royal Courts open. The Attorney-General, in proper forensic style, prayed that the proceedings of the day might be recorded. Addresses were presented, by the

[1] The wording originally stood: "Conscious as Your Majesty's Judges are of their own infirmities"—which, when read to the assembled Judges, provoked from Lord Bowen the interruption: "May I suggest, Lord Chancellor, that it might be better to say, 'of one another's infirmities'!"—K. M. M.

Prince of Wales from the Inns of Court, and by myself from the Incorporated Law Society:[1] and the Queen retired by a different way from that by which she came.

This, my wife said in her diary, was "a great day for me." She, and all my children, my sons-in-law, and many of my best and oldest friends, were present. I had interested myself greatly, from the beginning, in the scheme for the erection of those Courts, and had exerted myself in Parliament to forward it, and to avert dangers with which it was threatened. Now they were finished: and to my lot, as official head of my profession and of the Judicature of England, it had fallen to take a conspicuous part in their inauguration, and to receive the charge of them, before that assembly, from my Sovereign.

To signalise that day, and to confer honour, not upon myself only, but upon the profession which I represented, the Queen was pleased to advance me to the dignity of an Earldom. Gladstone announced it in a letter which I received on the afternoon of Sunday, the preceding day.

MY DEAR SELBORNE—The Queen is desirous, in connection with the great occasion of opening the New Law Courts to-morrow, to confer an Earldom on you as the distinguished head of your illustrious profession. I need hardly inform you, that it is singularly agreeable to me to convey this proposal, and it will be the crown of my pleasure if you signify your acceptance.—Believe me, always sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

[1] Lord Selborne recommended the Treasurer of the Four Inns of Court and the President of the Law Society for the honour of Knighthood.—K. M. M.

I should not, for myself, have been ambitious of such an accession of titular dignity, but so offered, and on such an occasion, I could not hesitate to accept it. It gave pleasure, for the same reasons which made me feel that it could not be refused, to my wife and children, and to many friends; some of whose letters of congratulation were so hearty and evidently sincere, that I cannot,[1] after a lapse of nearly eight years, read them over without emotion.[2]

Our own domestic prosperity reached its culminating point in 1883 in the happy marriage of our two youngest children. On the 3rd of October at Blackmoor, my daughter Wilfreda married her second cousin, George Tournay Biddulph,[3] a man worthy of her, who already possessed our affection and esteem. Among the friends who came to share our joy were Sir Arthur

[1] Written 1st September 1890.

[2] My second title was Viscount Wolmer, from the Forest adjoining Blackmoor. I did not take it without first learning that it would not be unacceptable to my neighbour Sir Archibald Macdonald, of Wolmer Lodge: who wrote to me, on that occasion, a very kind letter.

[3] His mother was Elizabeth Palmer of Nazing, daughter of my father's eldest brother. Of his brothers, the eldest was (and is still) M.P. for Herefordshire; and the second was for some years Governor of Cyprus, afterwards Director-General of Military Education, in the Military Department of the War Office, and is now Governor of Gibraltar. The third, Colonel John Biddulph, formerly Captain in the 19th Hussars, was on the Viceroy of India's staff from 1872 to 1876. He was transferred to the Indian political service, and formed one of Sir Douglas Forsyth's mission to Kashgar in 1873. Colonel Biddulph was the first Englishman to visit Hunza and Chitral, and was also the first political agent at Gilgit. He studied the Hunza and Chitral languages, and published the result of his studies with an account of those tribes. He served in 1891 as Agent Governor-General in Baluchistan.

and Lady Gordon (he was then Governor-Designate of Ceylon); the Poet Laureate; Hallam, his son; and Lady Russell, with some of her family. My son[1] married, on 27th of October, Lady Maud Cecil—the choice which, if it had been ours to choose for him, we should have most desired. Canon Liddon, a great friend of the Salisbury family, officiated in St. Andrew's, Wells Street. Mr. Gladstone was present, and, in the house of the Leader of the Opposition, the Prime Minister expressed in words fit and few the wish of a numerous company there assembled, for the happiness of that union between the daughter of his host and his Chancellor's son.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, 22*nd December* 1882.

. . . Do not think that your affectionate words were not to the full appreciated both by my dear wife and by myself. For myself, I do not set any great value upon this kind of thing; and while you might have been even more pleased if it had *not* been the product of a particular State occasion, in which it was my duty to appear as the representative of my profession, and of the order in that profession to which I now belong, it owes, to me, all the attraction which it possesses to the fact that it *did* come out of that occasion. For I cannot hold an honour, in which my profession and my order were designed by the Queen to have part, only at the value which it might have to my individual self; and it does so happen that the occasion was closely connected with some of the most useful labours of my official life, both as Attorney-General and as Chancellor. For as Attorney-General I not only promoted out of Parliament the

[1] He was, later, my own Private Secretary towards the close of my time in office.

scheme for the concentration of the Law Courts and Offices, of which these new Courts are the result, but I carried the Bills for that purpose through the House of Commons. Afterwards, when out of office, I obtained by a motion in the House of Commons directed to a reform of the Judicature on the lines since adopted, the appointment of the Judicature Commission, of which I was an active member; and it fell to me, when Chancellor in 1873, to carry through the Cabinet and Parliament the Acts for the consolidation and union of the different branches of the Judicature, which were the fruit of the recommendations of that Commission.[1] So that, although I had many fellow-labourers in this field, I may fairly hope to be hereafter remembered for my share in the work which reached its culminating point in the ceremonial.

But enough, and more than enough, about myself. I should like to have talked with you about other things — *e.g.* about this last volume of Bishop Wilberforce's Life, which I have not read, but which seems to be even worse than its predecessors. . . . Willie (who will begin the New Year as Lord Wolmer) has been transferred, with Childers, to the Exchequer: not so much to his liking, by any means, as the lower office, but doubtless a place in which his political apprenticeship may usefully be extended to lessons of a new kind.

I hope much good from the choice of Bishop Benson for the

[1] Lord Selborne had passed another Judicature Act in 1881, which contained several provisions supplementary to the former Acts. One provision of considerable importance was the abolition of the office of Master of the Rolls *as the principal Judge of the Chancery Division*, with the jurisdiction exercised for many centuries. The main reason for not abolishing it *in toto* was (in Lord Selborne's opinion) that it was useful to preserve the Master of the Rolls as head of the Record Office, for which some separate head would otherwise have to be found. Lord Selborne had also been responsible in 1881 for The Charitable Trusts Bill and The Court of Session (Scotland) Bill, and in 1881 for The Stolen Goods Bill: all three perished; the first and last in the Commons. "The Married Women's Property Act," and the order fixing the Scale of Solicitors' Remuneration under the Conveyancing Act of 1881, should not be omitted from the record of Lord Selborne's work as Chancellor in 1882.—K. M. M.

Primacy. He did excellently at Truro; and he has, in every way, the good report of those who know him best; among whom my son-in-law, Dr. Ridding, and my daughter Laura may be numbered.—Believe me, ever affectionately yours,

SELBORNE.

BLACKMOOR, 28*th December* 1882.

Since I wrote to you the other day, I have *read* the third volume of Bishop Wilberforce's Life, which I knew only from the notices in the newspapers. As usual with the newspapers, I find they have picked out everything, or *almost* everything, which ought *not* to have been in the book. . . .

These passages are serious blemishes upon a character and life which, on the whole, comes out nobly, even in this biography; and the impression made by them is certainly not mitigated when Mr. R. Wilberforce tells us, in a letter to the *Times*, that he might have greatly multiplied this sort of matter, if he had not made a very sparing use of the materials at his command! . . .

The moral I draw from these objectionable parts of the book is, first, adverse to the practice of keeping diaries, in which you put down confidential conversations and passing thoughts, etc., and, secondly, one of caution against the dangers of a state of constant mental tension and unrest. No one, I suppose, can always help having his mind crossed by thoughts of others, not altogether in the spirit and temper of St. Paul's chapter upon charity; and I suppose that a state of constant tension and unrest prevents a man from casting out this evil spirit in any other way than by throwing off its froth and foam into his diary (if he keeps one), and sometimes into his more familiar and confidential correspondence. And the principle, *quod tacitum velis, nemini dixeris*, is forgotten when these things, which would never be said to one by others except under the seal of strict confidence (*e.g.* discussions in Cabinets, or private Episcopal Conferences, and personal talk about the Queen and her Ministers by such a man as Dean Wellesley), are put into a diary, which the diarist's biographer *must* see, and *may* publish.—Believe me, ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

CHAPTER XXVI

LOSSES TO THE LAW—POLITICS IN THE RECESS—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA

1883

THE year 1883 was one of comparative rest in politics. Ireland was governed with a firm hand, and peace was restored in Egypt. The echoes of past struggles were heard, but there were no great Government measures giving occasion to party contests.

The law lost in that year (one by death, the other by retirement) two of its most remarkable men, both of the Jewish persuasion—Sir George Jessel and Mr. Benjamin. Of their co-religionists, none, before or since, have risen in this country to greater eminence.

Sir George Jessel died quite suddenly on the 21st of March, when he seemed to be strong and to have many years before him. He pushed his way at the Bar with a resolute hardihood, like that of Lord Beaconsfield in politics. His temper was too self-reliant, and too little softened by tact or grace of demeanour, to gain favour at first, especially from

his seniors; and he had sometimes to endure rebuffs, from Bench as well as Bar. His reputation, however, continually increased; and it was not long before all prejudices against him were conquered, as his genial and essentially honourable nature came to be better understood. I helped to obtain from Lord Westbury his promotion to the rank of Queen's Counsel, after which he rose by rapid steps to be leader of the Rolls Court, then Solicitor-General, and finally Master of the Rolls. As a judge he had no superior among his predecessors in the same office, except perhaps Sir William Grant; no man ever surpassed him in quickness of apprehension and promptitude of decision, or in the despatch with which he got through the business of his Court; and his judgments were generally sound and accurate, notwithstanding the rapidity of the process by which they were arrived at. The profession and the public were unanimous in his praise. To me, in all our official relations, he was a helper full of knowledge and resource, and a cordial trustworthy friend. His assistance was especially valuable in the difficult work —a necessary supplement to the Judicature Acts— on which the "Rule Committee" of the Judges was engaged for nearly two years before his death, of constructing, out of the more or less discordant systems previously in force, with improvements and amendments, a complete code of Civil Procedure for the Supreme Court.[1] When that work was finished

[1] Lord Selborne's own work on the Rule Committee was more complete and exhaustive than that of any one else: he was personally

in the summer of 1883, I had occasion to acknowledge, in the House of Lords, the part taken in it by the judges of that Committee, and most of all by him, saying that "no public servants ever took more pains about any work, or brought to it a greater amount of knowledge and intelligence." Gladstone, writing to me on the day of his death, said: "His character seemed to me eminently frank and manly, and his law speeches were the object of my warm though unintelligent admiration."

Benjamin retired from practice at the beginning of July, and then received from his professional brethren the compliment, unprecedented on such an

responsible for every word. There was literally not one word which he had not weighed and considered, and he personally settled all the forms and the scales of costs. A motion was made by Sir Hardinge Giffard to disallow the Rules in the House of Commons, and there was a vigorous debate and a division, although Lord Cairns had given no countenance to such a course in the Upper House. The Representative Peers (Scotland) Bill was a Bill of 1883. (Lord Rosebery had been Chairman of a Select Committee on which this Bill was founded.) It was the work of a forlorn hope to suggest reforms of the elections at Holyrood. The pains, courtesy, and dexterity of Lord Chancellor Selborne in the debates in the House on this Bill were extraordinary. There were Peers who did not shrink from telling the Chancellor (who had been counsel for Lord Mar in all his cases, and who had won for the Willoughby-Drummonds the great case against the Earl of Perth) that he did not understand the subject! The Bill, of course, got no attention in the Commons, and was heard of no more. Eventually the Lord Chancellor (by the Queen's desire) brought in a Bill which purported to restore the Peerage to the Earl of Mar. His conduct of the Bill in Select Committee, and the construction and proof of the preamble, were masterly. I shall never forget the admiration expressed by Lord Fitzgerald, nor the gratitude of Sir John Gorst, to whom I lent the Chancellor's notes for the purpose of explaining the Bill in the Commons.—K. M. M.

occasion, of a public entertainment in the Inner Temple Hall, over which the Attorney-General (Sir Henry James) presided. Besides the Lord Chief-Justice and myself, there were present four Law Lords, twelve Judges of the Supreme Court, two Privy-Council Judges, and three Law Officers of the Crown, besides the Chairman; sixty-four Queen's Counsel; 119 other members of the English, and two of the American Bar. There had been nothing like it since the dinner to M. Berryer in 1865.

Benjamin was a citizen of the United States, and had been in his own country a successful legal practitioner. When the Civil War broke out, he joined the Confederates, and was a member of Jefferson Davis's Cabinet. After the conquest of the South by the North, he came to England, and at the age of fifty-four determined to begin life again at the English Bar: an experiment which to an ordinary man must have been hopeless. But to him, as soon as he was called, business came with marvellous rapidity; and after a noviciate of only six years, he was made Queen's Counsel.[1] As a common-law leader, in mercantile cases especially, he outstripped all competitors; and he also found time to compose and publish a good text-book on the Law of Sales.

[1] By Lord Hatherley, in 1872. Lord Coleridge was desirous that he should be made a Judge, and suggested his appointment to Lord Cairns; but Lord Cairns (as the Lord Chief-Justice said in the House of Lords on the 13th April 1885) gave reasons to the contrary, which were "urgent and forcible, and would by most men be held to be conclusive." The principal reason doubtless was that Mr. Benjamin was an alien born, and not a naturalised British subject.

As an advocate he could not be called eloquent, but was quick, shrewd, and dexterous; not judicially minded, like Mellish, who used to pick out the good arguments and drop the bad; Benjamin did not disdain any sort of argument which an honest man could use, but urged them all with equal courage, to the great satisfaction of his clients. A little elderly man, snuffy and ill-shaven, with nothing to captivate men in his voice, countenance, or conversation, he had no external advantages; but his character stood high for integrity; and his combination of a romantic career and extraordinary success with kindly unpretending manners made him a general favourite. The history of his life gave the entertainment of the 30th June 1883 something of an international character. He did not long survive it, dying at Paris on the 6th of May 1884.

In the autumn of 1883 some things happened which made me feel that if they met with no check or remonstrance, the conditions on which my co-operation with the Liberal party depended might some day be placed in peril. I expressed my dissatisfaction at them (among others) to Lord Granville and to my cousin, Charles Roundell,[1] who, while acknowledging (with particular reference to an insult then lately offered to the King of Spain in Paris) "the degeneracy in public manners and in the manner and tone of public men," incident to the progress of democracy, declared his faith nevertheless in popular government, "with all its errors," as that

[1] At that time Liberal M.P. for Grantham.

most favourable to morality and justice. I answered him :—

The events in France, and some tendencies only too plainly discernible among ourselves, seem to me to raise, not only the question which you mention of degeneracy of manners—roughness and rudeness, instead of the old courtesy and civility—but also of the competency of unbalanced democracies to carry on the business of government and international relations with benefit to the countries in which they exist, and to the world at large. The American democracy (which I cannot regard as sufficiently tried hitherto, nor as a great success so far as it has been tried, as to anything depending upon the character of a Government) is very far from unbalanced; and so, thank God, is our own, hitherto. The French has no real balance, no make-weight against the destructive forces of modern society. Despotism is not, to my mind, mitigated or justified when it is established in the name of the people, any more than when it is established by tyrants relying on military force. The impulses of popular passions and appetites are at least as liable to be irrational, unscrupulous, immoral, and ruinous to the interests of nations as those of any other embodiment of arbitrary power; and in one respect they are more dangerous than those of kings and oligarchies, because they are less likely to be kept in check by fear, or by criticism of any kind. . . . I am more shocked than I can easily express at the line which some Liberals whom I have always heard well spoken of took at the recent Manchester election;[1] but it was, perhaps, a good thing that this should have happened, because it ought to have the effect of bracing up, against similar temptations hereafter, the courage and patriotism of those who do not prefer party names to public interests.

These thoughts were connected in my mind with the prospect, now opening before the Government, of

[1] A bye-election at Manchester, in which Liberals to whom I had given credit for good sense gave their support to a candidate not selected with their concurrence, whose opinions were of a destructive radical type.

a Session to be devoted to a further measure of Parliamentary Reform. The question of assimilating the county to the borough franchise had been often before the House of Commons, while Lord Beaconsfield was in power, and had received much Liberal and some Conservative support. Lord Hartington for some time, and Goschen always, opposed it. But Gladstone and Bright made up their minds in its favour; and Hartington yielded, either to their arguments or to their authority. The subject was considered at a meeting of most of Gladstone's former colleagues; and I acquiesced in their decision that the extension of household suffrage to the counties must for the future be accepted as part of the Liberal *programme* — not, certainly, without reluctance. I had been accustomed to think that there was a natural difference between rural and urban communities, justifying and making expedient a corresponding difference of franchise. The inhabitants of a city or town have an organic social unity, suggesting population for the basis of their franchises. But the aggregate of occupiers of houses in a large country district, dispersed over villages, hamlets, and scattered homesteads, have no such unity. The city or town has a stimulating intellectual atmosphere, and some kind of local public opinion, deserving of the name; the country district has not. The rural population is dependent, generally, for its social conditions, its industries, employment, and means of living, upon the territorial ownership and occupation of land; the urban is not. From a consideration of

these differences, it seemed to me to be a reasonable conclusion that the county franchise might justly and advantageously be based upon the ownership and occupation of land; as, under conditions more or less narrow or liberal, it always had been.

From that opinion it would not have been easy to induce me to depart, but for one disturbing element, under which the theory broke down, and which weighed with Lord Hartington and others, as it did with myself. Within the limits of county constituencies, there had always been small towns, which had no separate representation; and every disfranchisement of a Parliamentary borough, whether penal, or part of a general scheme of reform, threw back the disfranchised town into the county. That towns, more flourishing and populous (as was sometimes the case) than neighbouring Parliamentary boroughs should be not only without a separate representation, but under a different and more restricted franchise, was an anomaly, sure to breed discontent among their inhabitants, when the progress of public opinion led to the discussion of the question. Alton, in my own neighbourhood, as compared with Petersfield, a Parliamentary borough a few miles off, was an example of this kind; stronger examples still were Gloucester and Great Yarmouth, disfranchised for corrupt practices; and it was certain that any large scheme for a redistribution of seats must multiply such cases, by placing in the same category other towns of greater or less importance, previously in the enjoyment of household suffrage, and having done

nothing to forfeit it. In the counties, therefore, we had already to a great, and we must look forward to having to a greater extent, as time went on, constituencies not simply rural, but with rural elements grouped round a number of urban centres, by the influence of which their opinions and interests were largely, and might be in a predominant degree, affected. I could not but acknowledge that, under these conditions, the assimilation of the county to the borough franchise was a question of time; and, so regarding it, I thought it practically solved by the state of opinion existing in 1879 among the Liberal leaders, and to which the bulk of the Conservative party was not openly or strongly, if at all, opposed. My difficulty in acquiescing in that solution was the less, because I was sanguine — as to the strength of the bonds of habit, goodwill, and mutual interest which united the class of agricultural labourers with those among whom they lived and found employment, and as to the wisdom and patriotism with which the new electors would be directed in the right use of the franchise by the heads of both the great parties in the State. The declarations, therefore, upon this subject, which were made at the general election of 1880, did not stand in the way of my acceptance of office under Mr. Gladstone; and we were now approaching the fifth session of the Parliament then elected, when those declarations must be fulfilled.

At Reading, on the 14th November 1883, there was a demonstration in honour of George Shaw Lefevre,

member for that borough, and seeking re-election whenever Parliament should be dissolved. I did not generally think it right, while I was Chancellor, to attend political meetings; but the ties which connected me with Mr. Lefevre's family, and my regard for his father and his uncle Lord Eversley, as well as himself, made me think that in this case I might not improperly do so. I had confidence in Shaw Lefevre's judgment, as well as his integrity; and I did not then suppose (though no doubt it was the fact) that his views were, on the whole, better represented by Mr. John Morley, who was also present, than by myself. Being happily restrained by my office from making a strong party speech, I was all the more free to speak as I really thought, both of persons and of the political situation. Commenting upon words used by Lord Salisbury a fortnight before, in the same place, I said:—

I see that Lord Salisbury, when he was addressing another audience in this hall, said that it was a bad thing to be always altering the machinery of the Constitution. I quite agree with him; it is a bad thing to be always altering the machinery of the Constitution, and I hope the Liberal party will not wish always to be altering it. But, on the other hand, it would come with an ill grace from the head of the Conservative party to say that no adjustments are to be made in the machinery of the Constitution. One thing I hold to be certain, that the state of public opinion will always indicate, within tolerably clear limits, the proper time and the proper way to make those adjustments. At the natural time, in the natural course, and in the natural order, they will work safely and well. No one can look back upon the past, and not see that the people have been fit for every development which has hitherto been made; and no one can see how the people in all classes perform the duties of an orderly political society, without having great reason to feel

confidence in them, as to any other duties which in the natural course of things may be laid upon them. Therefore, with regard to that class of questions, while I am certainly not one of those (if there be any) who would always be pulling to pieces and readjusting the machinery of the Constitution, still less am I one of those who fear evil consequences from those changes which at the proper time must necessarily come.

In an earlier passage of the same speech, answering an accusation made against the Government by Lord Salisbury of "setting class against class in Ireland," and denying its justice, I said:—

If there is anything in the world more detestable than another, it is to set class against class, I do not care what class it is, whether it is the poor against the rich, or the rich against the poor, the capitalist against the workman, or the workman against the capitalist, the landlord against the tenant, or the tenant against the landlord. The man who does not do all he can to persuade all these classes that they have a common interest, that all must suffer when any wrong is done to either, is not a friend to his country.

I concluded in these words:—

I admit that there are contending forces of good and evil. I admit that we live in critical times, and that men must make up their minds as to what is good and what is evil. There can be no doubt at all that our duty, and the duty of the Liberal party, is to promote the general good, to remove all the evils that we can, to do what we can to better the condition of all classes; but not to assist any of the anarchical or disorganising forces which may exist in society. There can be no doubt whatever of that. Have we any reason to fear those forces? Are there not forces in other directions, activities most generous, most noble, most beneficent, most useful, most truly liberal in their character, at work? Is there any one of us, moving in any sphere of society, in which he does not know how very active the forces are which work for good? Then, I say, let us rely upon these forces, let

us do what we can to stimulate and promote them. Above all things, let us not imagine that we can encounter disorganising anarchical forces by abstaining from following out the course of improvement which the necessities of the time may require. I have once or twice referred to some portions of the speech of that very distinguished and eloquent statesman, whose personal friendship I may venture to claim, who addressed an audience in this hall on the 30th of last month. I have ventured to differ from one or two things which he said; but there is another passage in the speech which he delivered on that occasion with which I can express my cordial agreement; and with these words—the very words of Lord Salisbury—I wish you to permit me to conclude my address to you: "At the present time we have great difficulties to contend with, we have great evils to remove, and we require for that purpose to unite the efforts of all men of goodwill of all classes in this country. It is a mistake to say anything merely to produce dissension and bitterness between those who ought to co-operate for their country's good."

There was another subject, more remote from home interests, but concerning (as I thought) our national duty and honour, which much engaged my thoughts in 1883. I had, from my youth up, a very strong feeling against the tendency of European nations to appropriate and occupy countries inhabited by uncivilised or imperfectly civilised races, as if their inhabitants had no rights; and I detested, as a disgrace to the Christian name, the cruelty and oppression by which, in too many cases, the path of colonisation had been stained. New Zealand wars were odious to me; and I had watched, with lively satisfaction, the successful assertion of the opposite principle by my friend Arthur Gordon, as first Governor of the Fiji Islands, in the organisation of

that new colony under a system of government by which as strict regard was paid to native rights and interests as to those of Europeans. The demand which sprang up in Australia for the annexation of New Guinea was a cause of anxiety to me.

Queensland, extending with a tropical climate to the southern shore of Torres Strait, wanted coloured labour for her sugar and other plantations. If she could obtain possession of the great island on the other side of the strait, her planters might find new fields of vast extent for the investment of their capital, and an abundant supply of the kind of labour required. So greatly did she covet it, that her Government, not content to proceed by constitutional methods, issued a proclamation, by which it was declared to be annexed to Queensland, without any communication with the Home Government, or any endeavour to obtain the authority of the Crown. That proceeding was, promptly and without hesitation, disavowed and annulled: explanations were promised, which we, of course, undertook to consider. Whether there might or might not be reasons for placing New Guinea, or any part of it, under the authority or protection of the British Crown, it was clear that no colony could be permitted, in such a matter, to force the hand of the Crown; and to me it was equally clear, that if British authority were to be asserted there at all, that authority must be Imperial, not Colonial, and must provide for the fulfilment of Imperial duties and responsibilities. My anxiety led me to enter into an explanation of the state of my

mind, in a letter to Gladstone, on the 22nd April 1883 :—

I will first (I said) assume the possibility, that, when the information we are expecting comes, it *may* make out a case for the establishment of British authority at some point or points on the coast of New Guinea, especially on Torres Strait. It would be with the greatest possible reluctance that I could bring myself to assent to even this: but I am unable to say that a case of necessity for so much as this may not possibly be shown. But, if a necessity or justifying cause for any annexation at all can be shown, I can hardly find words sufficiently strong to express my opposition to the idea of a Colonial, as distinguished from an Imperial, annexation. To annex, and at the same time to decline or evade the moral responsibilities of government,—the duty of providing and enforcing just laws for the protection, conciliation, and elevation of the numerous and almost unknown native races over whom we should thus make ourselves rulers without their consent, and of preventing with a strong hand their oppression or plunder,—would appear to me, I am bound to say, to be not only an ignoble and unworthy, but a morally criminal course.

Gladstone sent my letter to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Derby; not, I think, without a considerable degree of sympathy and concurrence. Matters remained in this state, when, later in the year, I made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Parkes, a strong self-made man, several times Premier of New South Wales; and I found in conversation with him, that we were likely to hear more of the matter, not from Queensland only, but from the Australian colonies generally. This led to a correspondence between us. He wrote to me on the 19th of November :—

There is some ground for suspecting that the Queensland Minister acted more from a desire to captivate political support,

by a bold stroke in asserting the importance of that colony at a time when popular support was certainly needed, than from any more enlarged view of the interests of the empire. . . . But this leaves the question of the British colonisation of New Guinea still to be considered. If it were possible to put that simple question authoritatively to all the Australian colonies,—either to the Governments or to the people,—I am confident that there would be an enthusiastic response in the affirmative. Looking to the future, it is felt that New Guinea cannot remain as it is. If not Great Britain, some foreign Power will take possession of it. Experience does not encourage the belief in Protectorates. The acquisition of this important island by a foreign Government would be viewed with indignation by the whole of the Australian population, as fraught with all kinds of trouble and vexation to them. Could not New Guinea (I only speak of New Guinea and the small islets that belong to it) be colonised by Great Britain, on a clear agreement that the expenses of the new Government should be borne jointly by the Australian colonies? That seems to me just; and I should think it might be fairly and constitutionally arranged.

I replied :—

To me, the question is one of very serious difficulty. New Guinea is (except Australia) the largest island in the world. It is not unpeopled, but is occupied by and in the possession of a population of (I do not know how many) millions. I am not one of those who think that such a population has no rights to the soil which it inhabits, or that it is a light thing, either morally or politically, for civilised European nations or their colonies to treat such rights as if they did not exist, and to annex at their mere will and pleasure such a territory. It may be that, under some circumstances, such a course would be the only alternative, by which greater evils, both for the less civilised and for the more civilised people, could be prevented. But none of the arguments which I have yet seen or heard have convinced me that such a necessity for annexing to the British Empire the whole of that part of New Guinea which has not been

(nominally) annexed by the Dutch now exists. You are disposed to think, that the Queenslanders are not actuated by any motive to obtain, through the annexation of New Guinea, a supply of native labour on their own terms, either for their sugar plantations, etc., in Queensland, or for the settlements which they may establish in New Guinea itself. I must confess that I am unable to convince myself that such a motive has no influence there; but, whether it has or has not, I should not the less anticipate a modified form of slave trade for the purposes of the Northern Australian Settlements and their offsets in New Guinea, as one of the practical consequences likely (and almost certain) to ensue from any annexation which would place the government of that island either directly or virtually in the hands of the Northern Australian colonies, or any of them.

Our correspondence closed with Sir Henry Parkes' answer to that letter so far as the substance of the discussion was concerned, though there were on both sides other letters, of courtesy rather than argument:—

The question (he said) of the British colonisation of New Guinea, if not a purely Australian question, is one which in a pre-eminent degree concerns the future of that country, and one which cannot be adequately treated without keeping in view the rapid progress which Australia is making in all the elements of national life. The importance of Australia to-day may be measured by a single fact—the annual value of her sea-borne commerce is over £100,000,000 sterling. Ten years hence her progress will be surprisingly increased; and within the lifetime of persons now living her population in all human probability will outnumber that of the United Kingdom. As you are aware, New Guinea is planted, so to speak, at the very door of Australia. Torres Strait is the highway for all the eastern commerce of the Australian ports; and, though this sea is nominally some eighty miles wide, it is so broken by islets, reefs, and rocks, that the clear navigable passage is not more, I believe, than sixteen miles. The nature of Englishmen in Australia must change with the

milder climate, if in the growth of the new empire there they rest content with New Guinea remaining as it is, occupied by an intractable savage race, and at any time subject to foreign, or (still worse) lawless occupation from without. With regard to the native race, I think your Lordship's estimate of their numbers must be greatly in excess of the reality. But, few or many, I freely admit that they are entitled to every consideration from a Christian people. If it were possible for their condition to remain as it was before European settlements took place in their immediate neighbourhood, and before the inroads of speculative strangers upon their own community, I for one should be opposed to any interference with them. After what has taken place, however, foreign interference, whether with the sanction of England or not, will go on, and be continually on the increase. And, if that be so, will it not be best, in the interest of the Aborigines, to give a wise direction, under organised English authority, to what appears to be inevitable? In some form or other, sooner or later, Europeans will take possession of New Guinea.

I do not think the idea has ever been entertained in Australia of New Guinea becoming an appendage of Queensland, or of any one colony, or of all the colonies united. What I understand to be desired is, that Great Britain should annex New Guinea as one of the Australian group. This act might be preceded by the consent of the natives, formally given in public assembly; and I think it ought to be accompanied by securities for their possession of a sufficient share of the soil for their support. The expense of the new colony should in justice be borne, and it would, I think, be willingly borne, by the colonies now in existence, without adding to the burdens of the English taxpayer. There really is no fair ground for fearing that any "modified form of slave-trade" would be sanctioned by the Australian Legislatures, though possibly there may be persons in Australia, as there are in England, who would favour that or any other means to give them a supply of cheap labour. But, if sugar plantations were opened up in New Guinea, it is not easy to see why the natives should not be employed upon them, under proper regulations, as well as labourers from other countries. I fear it must be held to be an admitted necessity, that labourers accustomed to tropical heat must be found for carrying on out-

door industries in tropical Australia, or that otherwise the land must remain unoccupied. But surely this can be done, under the regulation of wise and humane legislation, greatly to the advantage of the class of persons so employed.

In the sequel the views expressed by Sir Henry Parkes received confirmation from the action of Germany, who, without giving this country any notice of her intention to do so, took possession of the northern side of New Guinea and the adjacent islands. This left us practically no option but to establish British authority on the other side, opposite to the Australian coasts, so securing the navigation of the strait from any foreign interference, and obviating all risk to the Australian colonies from the presence, in too near proximity to them, of a rival, and under some circumstances possibly unfriendly, maritime Power. There were, of course, many, particularly in Australia, who blamed us for having let slip the opportunity of taking the whole island, or all the parts of it not in Dutch occupation. But those reasons for acting in the matter in which there was real force were satisfied by what we did: the territory which we took was made an Imperial, not a Colonial dependency; and we did not abdicate, with respect to it, Imperial duties or responsibilities. What the practical consequences of its annexation may be to the natives, to Australia, and to the British Empire, is one of those questions of the future which will not be solved in my time.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

Blackmoor, 1*st September* 1883.

. . . Let me take this occasion to tell you how profoundly the perusal of the four last volumes of your *Aberdeen Correspondence*, which I have completed some time since, interested and impressed me to the end. It seems to me to give a truly noble view of your father, as the wisest in judgment, the most moderate, dispassionate and disinterested in character and temper, the most single-minded and patriotic in all his aims, and the most clear-sighted and unprejudiced in political discernment, of *all* the contemporaries whose letters accompany his own—and of these I should place Guizot *next* to him.—Ever yours affectionately,

Selborne.

To the Countess Waldegrave

Blackmoor, 14*th September* 1883.

. . . Now, I must give you a little budget of our own home news. Your two darlings are very jolly and happy, and both of them are learning to take some notice of their old grandfather. I pay them an early visit (the first thing after leaving my dressing-room) in the nursery. Madge shows me the wonders of the house! and baby condescended to-day to let me take him in my arms, and carry him about till I was content to give him back to his nurse. They are both so good and sweet-tempered, and very fond of each other.

Our new buildings are advancing fast towards completion. The smoking-room and the billiard-room will be in complete order, and ready for use, by the time that you come. The garden is brilliant; but among the trees, and especially in the ferns, the autumn tints are coming on very fast. Everything is beautiful; Wolmer pond unusually full for the time of year. Pheasants turn up everywhere; and, though Ormelie and his friends only got thirty-three brace of partridges, *I* turn up large coveys, whenever I go into the park.

Your mother is wonderful, and looking so well.—Your most affectionate

Selborne.

WALMER CASTLE, *3rd October* 1883.

MY DEAR CHANCELLOR—I am afraid we shall see at the General Election many candidates (not only on the Liberal side) truckling to the Irish vote. I am amused as to your talk as to age! You are not yet old enough to be my Grandpapa! I have a strong opinion, that both you and Gladstone, although a little older, have a longer prospect of physical strength for intellectual work than I have. There is, however, some truth in Dr. Johnson's observation, "Do not let us old fellows discourage one another."

What does your doctor say, and what does he advise? *And how far do you follow his advice?* that is the obvious remedy for overwork. You are not a master in the art of taking it. I doubt your being wanted in the Lords this session excepting for the Land Bill.

I do not know how much of general work you might properly give up.

It is such a high duty to yourself, your family, and your colleagues to do whatever your doctor tells you to keep your health, which is so precious, intact.

If my gouty humours have suggested facts which do not exist, and inspired false inferences from them which do not exist, pray forgive me.—Yours, G.

[It was on 28th June of this year that Lord Chancellor Selborne wound up the debate on the Third Reading of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, which was supposed to have been practically carried by the results of the Second Reading; and Lord Coleridge tried to discourage Lord Selborne from speaking for a lost cause. The speech was of a most telling character, and was said on very good authority to have turned votes enough to reverse the decision of the House. The Bill was thrown out by a majority of five.—K. M. M.]

CHAPTER XXVII

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—THE SOUDAN AND GENERAL GORDON

1884–1885

THE Government measure for extending household suffrage to the counties was introduced early in the session of 1884, and passed the House of Commons by large majorities. In the House of Lords, the motion for its Second Reading was met by Lord Cairns with an amendment, to the effect that the House, while "prepared to consider any well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, did not think it right to assent to the second reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom," unless accompanied by a Bill for the redistribution of seats.

Upon the abstract question, whether redistribution ought to follow—if possible, before a general election—there was no difference between the Government and the Opposition. The Government were ready

to give every possible pledge that, so far as it rested with themselves, it should be done. But they were convinced, in view of the conditions proved by former experience to be necessary for carrying great measures of this kind, that the franchise, on which redistribution ought to depend, must be settled first; and they had the support of the House of Commons in taking that course. To proceed with both measures simultaneously, under an engagement that the one should not come into operation without the other, would enable objections to the one to be played off against the other, so as to endanger the success of both. If the principle of the enlarged franchise were affirmed conditionally on the passing of such a scheme of redistribution as might be agreeable to the Conservative party, the Government could not ensure the fulfilment of the condition, of which (if they had consented to it) they would have acknowledged the reasonableness. It was difficult to conceive any large scheme of redistribution, to which many objections might not be made in good faith and with an appearance of reason, and with the hope of support from all whose interests were affected by it. If the Conservatives thought (as they certainly did) that an election upon the new franchise without redistribution would be disastrous to their party, they were not likely to have more confidence in any new arrangement of electoral districts which their political opponents might devise. To pass the one measure would make it much easier to carry the other, if honestly conceived in the general interest.

The Government had no other intention; and they could not go out of their way to propitiate those (if such there were) who thought them dishonest.

In the debate on the 8th of July, the speakers on the side of the Government put in as strong a light as they could the imprudence, from a Conservative point of view, of throwing out the Bill, without either a distinct acceptance or an open rejection of its principle, and so enabling their adversaries, as soon as the 2,000,000 new electors might be admitted to vote, to represent them on every hustings in the Kingdom as having done what they could to defeat it. In my own speech, referring to some words of an Opposition speaker, who appealed to me as "no violent party man," I admitted their truth, saying:—

> I have never been that; many people would like me better if I were. It may be due to various causes; to early training, or the coldness and dulness of professional life, or, it may be, I am one of those who think the government of the world and the issues of great events do not depend, after all, wholly or mainly upon politicians or Parliaments. These considerations have always restrained me from giving to party interests what was due to public interests. I cannot be far from the close of my political life, and whatever the results of this measure, it is probable I shall not be in a situation to be greatly affected by them otherwise than as a citizen.

From that point of view, I urged the House not to accept Lord Cairns's amendment. It was carried, however, by a large majority, 205 to 146; and on the 14th of August Parliament was prorogued, to meet again in an autumn session for a renewal of the contest.

The crisis was serious. Gladstone thought that, if Parliament were dissolved upon the issue raised by the House of Lords, the controversy must enlarge itself into one affecting both Houses, whatever the Government might intend or desire. I thought, that any such complication of the question, already grave enough, would be a public calamity; and in that sense I wrote to him on the 28th of September, saying:—

It seems to me to be the duty of all Ministers who bring forward propositions of organic change, of the magnitude and importance of the Franchise Bill and the redistribution which must follow it, to do everything which is possible to mitigate, and not to inflame popular passions, when those measures, from any cause whatever, may receive temporary checks: and I conclude with confidence, and indeed certainty, both from your whole character and public life, and from the course which you have hitherto taken under the present circumstances, that this is your own opinion. Even the immediate object of carrying those measures in such a way as to ensure, as far as possible, their safe and satisfactory working for the benefit of the whole nation, points (imperatively as it seems to me) in the same direction. We have justified our refusal to deal with redistribution concurrently with the franchise on the ground, to my mind conclusive, that the one object must necessarily be impeded, and both might possibly be frustrated, by mixing them up together. How can men who have acted on this principle justify its total reversal, by complicating both or either of these measures with a third, much more dangerous and difficult,—indeed, under such circumstances, impossible without the use of revolutionary means likely to destroy the whole political and social fabric,—when the opposite course would ensure their passing safely? If the balance is strained, for what can only be a very short time, by the action of the House of Lords, are we therefore to destroy or endanger it permanently? The Opposition have already declared, that they will yield as to the

Franchise Bill, though unaccompanied by redistribution, if the constituencies declare in its favour; which there can be no doubt they will, whenever they have the opportunity. When so defeated, they would not (I am persuaded) be so likely to try conclusions again with the Government and the people upon redistribution. The contingency which we are supposing is that of a dissolution. The right of the Crown, under the advice of its Ministers, to determine the time of dissolution, would have been sufficiently vindicated, and the hands of the Government would have been in the meantime enormously strengthened,—for good, I trust, and not for evil.

There are occasions on which the personal influence of a Constitutional Sovereign, judiciously exerted, may be potent for the public good. This was one of them; and the settlement which followed was aided, if not brought about by that influence. No one was better qualified, under such circumstances, for the office of a mediator, than the Duke of Argyll.

He had gained, as a member of several Administrations, a large experience of public affairs. He had no personal ambition to gratify. His opinions were liberal, and at the same time moderate, his character and political attitude were eminently patriotic and independent; and he was on terms of intimate friendship with leading men of both parties. He did in fact, immediately after the reassembling[1] of Parliament, enter into communications with Gladstone and myself, and in his opening letter to me (27th October 1884), he stated his opinion, that, although it was necessary to separate the two Bills, both Houses had, in principle, accepted the franchise; that it would now be safe for the Government to

[1] Parliament met for the Autumn Session on the 23rd of October.

push forward both Bills—and that it would be unreasonable to insist on the franchise passing first, if it were possible to get both through by waiting a little time. "The Tories had a right to know whether the urban and the rural elements were to be fairly separated"; and no Ministry had a right to "put a halter" round the necks of both parties; which (he said, adopting so far the argument of the Opposition) was "the avowed policy of the Government."

I answered him on the 31st of October, dissenting from the "halter" argument: which, so far as there was any truth in it at all, I thought quite as true in the one as in the other view of the case. In my own view of the situation, which I went on to explain, it was the duty of any Government, which thought a measure of that magnitude and importance necessary, to persevere in using all proper and constitutional means to carry it; and to avoid all snares which might be laid to draw them out of the course which they deliberately adopted with that view. Our opinion was, that a large plan of redistribution was a proper complement to that measure; but, if the majority in either House should be found unable to agree upon such a redistribution as the other House would accept, we considered that, under these circumstances, the franchise ought still to be enlarged, as proposed. We inferred, from the line taken by the Opposition, that, if we did bring in a Redistribution Bill before the Franchise Bill was safe, they would reject both, unless satisfied with that Bill; and

would avail themselves for that purpose of all opportunities which the difficulties of the measure might offer in either House of Parliament. I referred to (what I understood to be) their motive,—the fear of bad consequences to their party, from an election under the new franchise without redistribution,—an apprehension, which I myself thought exaggerated and highly speculative, and not worthy to be the foundation of the political action of a great party. Against it, I set the reasons for a contrary line of action, as I saw them. If things were forced to an extremity, there could be no alternative, except between a dissolution (whether by ourselves, or after a change of Government), and such a creation of Peers as was contemplated in 1832. The objections to the latter course were too obvious to require that I should dwell upon them. As to a dissolution in the winter, in a distressed state of trade, with great numbers of people in the metropolis and elsewhere out of work, and under violent political excitement, no prophet was needed to foretell what its consequences might be.

The results (I said), whichever party dissolved, would be very much more unfavourable to Conservative principles, in the proper sense of those words, than any which could reasonably be anticipated from an election, if circumstances compelled one, at a later date, under the proposed new franchise, with the enlarged constituencies and no redistribution. The under-currents of Republicanism and Communism, always with us, but generally overborne by the prevalence of common sense and a rational regard for their own interests, not unmixed with higher motives, in all classes of the people,—have already shown themselves on the surface, and would find, in such a dissolution, very unusual

opportunities of extending their power. The question of the position and powers of the House of Lords, which no Ministry could prevent from being more and more seriously agitated, does not stand alone. Some Conservative lords, indeed, profess not to care about it, unless they can please themselves on all great occasions in the use of their powers: but I hope they do not imagine, that they could run the House of Lords upon the rocks, and save all the other institutions of the country, which they may perhaps care more about. The chief difference that I can see between a dissolution at this time by a Tory, and one by a Liberal Government is, that in the former case the danger of violent disturbance of the peace and violent demands for constitutional changes would be greater, and the power of repressing them less.

The correspondence had reached this point, when Lord Tollemache, a liberal-minded Conservative, who sat for many years in the House of Commons with general respect, came to see me on the same subject; on which he also was in communication with Gladstone, and with the Conservative chiefs. I showed him (keeping back the Duke's name) a copy of my answer to the Duke of Argyll; which he asked leave to show to some of the Conservative leaders. To this I consented: and I understood from him that it was seen by Sir Stafford Northcote; whether by others I do not know. What Lord Tollemache wished was, that the Franchise Bill should be read a second time in the Lords, and a Redistribution Bill introduced by the Government, simultaneously; and that, if the Conservatives then found it impossible conscientiously to support the redistribution proposed, "a conference might lead to a solution so important to the country." In making that suggestion, he

probably spoke for those on his own side with whom he was in communication, as well as for himself.

Further letters of mutual explanation passed between me and the Duke of Argyll. He told me that my language was "much less appreciative of the real fairness of some part, at least, of the Conservative contention," than that of Gladstone's letters to him: and he laid stress upon the necessity of a "fair separation between the urban and the rural element in the new redistribution," which he understood Gladstone also to recognise. But how such a separation was to be made, I could not see: my own support of the new franchise rested upon the contrary assumption; and I replied on this point, that "I could not, in the long-run, expect bad results from some leaven of the less intelligent populations, the rural, by an admixture of the more intelligent, the urban"; and that "I knew no way of even attempting to draw a hard-and-fast line permanently between the two, except that of grouping towns unconnected with each other and having no common interest; which, though they had it in Scotland, would in England be most unpopular, and (I thought) impracticable." Ultimately, on the 6th of November, he sent me a copy of a series of eighteen Propositions, which he had drawn up and placed in Gladstone's hands,—argumentative for the most part, but ending with the suggestion, that the Government ought either to insert in the Franchise Bill a suspensory clause, giving time for the Redistribution Bill to be proceeded with before it came

into operation, or to agree on the outlines of a "Redistribution Bill which both parties could accept.' The former of those alternatives I thought impracticable: but as to the second, I said, that "I should be glad to find it practicable; and I was not without hope that proper means might be used to ascertain whether it was so or not." I was very glad to hear that the Duke was so well satisfied with Gladstone's tone; and, to prevent my own feeling and disposition from being misunderstood, I wrote[1]:—

In questions of political procedure, I know no other rule of judgment than that of practical wisdom, with a view to the general good. In the judgment which I have formed of the present situation, I am not conscious of having been influenced by any disturbing bias. I am ready to lay down my office at a moment's notice, rather than enter upon any course which my conscience condemns; and if there exist in any quarters feelings of bitterness and hostility towards the Conservative leaders, I do not share them. I bear them both personal, and (in some sense) political goodwill. I think it is for the public interest that they should have due weight and influence in the country, and should be ready and able, from time to time, to take their turn of office. I do not like to see them effaced, or effacing themselves; which I fear they are now in some danger of doing.

Within a few days after those words were written, everything was settled. Nothing was, in my opinion, more honourable to Gladstone during the whole of his great career, than the resolution which, under his guidance, the Cabinet adopted, to come, if possible, to an agreement with the heads of the Conservative party as to a scheme of redistribution which both parties might accept. The necessary

[1] 7th November 1884.

overtures were made, and were met in the same spirit: and a committee of two or three leading men on both sides, honestly desirous of arriving at a satisfactory solution, was charged with the work. The result was marvellous. With incredible facility and rapidity a larger, more thorough-going, more symmetrical and consistent scheme for a rearrangement of all the electoral areas in the United Kingdom, than had been before thought of by any practical statesman, was constructed and agreed to. The idea of eliminating urban elements from the county representation disappeared: on the contrary, all cities and towns with less than 15,000 inhabitants, which before had a separate representation, were thrown into the counties. The minority vote also disappeared. All the larger constituencies, town or county, were subdivided, on the principle (of which Lord Salisbury was, I think, the first public advocate) of giving, with comparatively few exceptions, one member only to each electoral district.[1] The plan was accepted by Parliament and the country: the Franchise Bill passed the House of Lords without difficulty a fortnight before Christmas; and in the following session both Bills, with a Registration Bill supplementary to them, became law, so as to enable a general election to be held in the autumn of 1885 under the new system. I have paid Mr. Gladstone the tribute due to his conduct in this matter: it is due also to the Conservative leaders, that in

[1] No county district had more than one member. Twenty-four cities or towns and three universities had two each.

judging of their line of action in the House of Lords the result should be taken into account; though it cannot be supposed that, on the 8th of July 1884, any one foresaw, either the character of the coming redistribution, or the means by which it was to be brought about.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

30 PORTLAND PLACE, *9th March* 1884.

. . . Here we are, as we expected to be, in a very uncomfortable and unpromising political situation. The tactics of the Opposition evidently are, to play off Egypt and the Soudan against the Franchise Bill; throwing also into the cauldron all other troublesome and damaging ingredients, which the chapter of accidents may, from day to day, bring to hand. In this way, it is no doubt expected, that the attention and interest of the country may be, in a greater or less degree, diverted from the Franchise question, to the misdeeds and failures of the Government; that every step of every parliamentary discussion may be prolonged and embarrassed, till the Franchise Bill is either stifled in the House of Commons, or sent up late in the session, to be rejected (not on the merits, but on some evasive and dilatory ground), in the House of Lords; and that the result will be, to compel a dissolution, under circumstances unfavourable to the Ministry. It will not at all surprise me, if these tactics do succeed. We are, beyond all doubt, in great difficulties, with respect to Egypt and the Soudan; and I cannot say that I at all see my way out of them. Nothing is more conceivable, than that the extraordinary man whom we have sent to Khartoum may go on saying and doing (as, to some extent, he has already done) things which the English people will not be able to understand, even if *we* understand them ourselves; for all which we shall be held responsible, if harm comes, and even if good does *not* come, out of it; and that any clear intelligible good *should* come out of it, will require almost a miracle. I heartily wish now, that we had never so entangled

ourselves in European arrangements about Egypt, and in joint engagements to the Khedive with France (left by France at the critical moment to be performed by ourselves only), as to have got into the trap at all. I only hope it may not prove to us what Spain did to the first Napoleon. There is great danger that the outcome of it all may be something very widely different from what we ever intended.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, *3rd August* 1884.

I write to you in very troubled times, and with a very unhopeful view of our political prospect here. But the first subject on which I shall touch is as to the course taken, or likely to be taken, about the disallowed German land claims in Fiji, as to which Bismarck has put all the pressure in his power on our Government. I am able, so far, to reassure you, that I can say positively, nothing has been, or will be done to reopen, or unsettle any land titles, either of natives or of others, as settled by the Fiji Land Court or Commissioners. . . . I have no fear that any native land titles, under awards of the Fiji Court, or Commissioners, will be disturbed; nor do I think it at all probable, that if any compensation should be awarded to Germans or others, the burden will be thrown upon the Fiji revenue. *We* may, possibly, have to pay some money; but your good work will not be undone. . . . You will know, from the newspapers, all that has happened about the Franchise Bill. I cannot help thinking, that we might search history in vain, for so wilful and unnecessary a disturbance of the balance of constitutional power in any State, as the Lords, under the guidance of our *pessimist* friend, Lord Salisbury, have in this case created. If they had not professed to approve the Bill, which they in fact rejected, so far as its own merits were concerned, I could have seen some reason in their course, though I might still have thought it imprudent. But for the Lords to overrule the judgment, both of the Government and of the House of Commons, on such a point as the mere order of procedure in legislating for two objects,—*both* of which they profess to agree with the Government in desiring, —and for the sake of such an object (or to avert some slight increase of the votes opposed to the Tory party in certain counties, at the next election), to give a formidable impulse,

and a new direction, to the more violent forms of Radical and Republican opinion,—seems to me, I confess, nothing short of infatuation.

I have no space left for Egypt. Our situation there is worse and more perplexing than ever; the Conference having wholly failed,—chiefly (I suspect) through the willingness of Bismarck to see us embroiled with France. We are still without direct news from General Gordon; but what intelligence we have represents him as holding his own against all assailants, and his brother, Sir Henry Gordon, does not doubt his present safety.—Ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

To Lady Sophia Palmer

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *3rd September* 1884.

. . . Transgression of the proper constitutional lines can do no good to the prospects of the Franchise Bill, or to any other cause which true Liberals ought to have at heart. Gladstone has set a good example in this respect, and I hope it will be more generally followed, than (from what has happened in several places) I dare to expect. Everything has been going on here as peaceably and unexcitedly as if there were no such things in the world as Franchise Bills and Premiers. We are so glad that you have had the interest and the enjoyment, which such society, on such an occasion, could not fail to bring. A missive has come to-day from Lady Rosebery, entreating us to let you go back to her from Leslie; but our self-denial was not equal to such a demand upon it; so the answer is, that we can no longer do without you here. I half suspect that the *nursery* at Dalmeny had its share in the wish for your return there; but there are nurseries elsewhere; and, among other places, at Blackmoor. —Ever, my darling child, your most affectionate Father,

SELBORNE.

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

BRIGHTON, *13th October* 1884.

We are longing to hear of your safe arrival at St. Moritz, and that your dear husband is benefiting by his rest and change of air. It was much against the grain to shorten our time at

Blackmoor, which was short enough as it was; there being plenty to do, and my own strength having been certainly increased by doing it, since the cooler weather set in. I had only just time to do the garden-thinnings, which had become necessary elsewhere than below the terrace walks; and then to enlarge the three openings to the first view. We left the dear place in great beauty; the shrubs (such as the sumach and dogwood and azaleas) putting on their finest autumnal colours. But it was thought that your dear Mother would be the better for the change; and so, I trust, she may be. . . .

I am afraid I cannot report anything favourable of our political prospects. There seems to be no chance of Lord Salisbury and his coadjutors in the House of Lords giving way, even a hair's-breadth; and, indeed, there is no real medium between their former course and passing the Franchise Bill unconditionally. Some people think (but I do not) that a sufficient number of peers to turn the scale may assert their independence. The Irish in the House of Commons are said to intend to play, as far as they can, into the hands of the Opposition.—Ever your affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

TO THE REV. EDWIN PALMER

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 21*st October* 1884.

. . . I go back to this meeting of Parliament in no hopeful frame of mind. The course taken by the majority in the House of Lords made all that has since happened inevitable; but I cannot help feeling that there are great evils in the system of stump-speeches by Cabinet Ministers and Leaders of the Opposition, of which we have lately had so much. Among other evils, it tends to give ambitious men, who have ulterior views in which the majority (probably) of their colleagues do not share, opportunities for promulgating those views, as it were *ex cathedra*, and so accelerating the end of the present *modus vivendi* between moderates and extremists.

I feel my own tenure of office, under these conditions, to be very precarious; for, while I should think it wrong to desert my post, at a great public crisis, for any less cause than the adoption of counsels by my colleagues, in which I cannot honestly

participate, I do not, from day to day, feel certain that, in the probable event of persistence by the majority of the House of Lords in the course dictated by Lord Salisbury, such counsels may not be adopted.—Believe me, ever most affectionately yours,

SELBORNE.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 21*st October* 1884.

. . . The results of the rejection, by the Lords, of the Franchise Bill have been many exciting speeches, not tending to make government easier, or the reputation of leading statesmen, on either side, higher for the time to come. We are now on the eve of the autumnal session, in which there seems to be every prospect of persistence by Lords Salisbury and Cairns, etc., and by the majority of the House of Lords under their guidance, in the challenge which they have thrown out to the House of Commons, the Liberal party, and the people. Whatever other issues this course may have, I feel very confident that it will not have one favourable to the Conservative leaders or their party; and this, I confess, is one of the things which I regret; for much more evils might, to my apprehension, happen to the country, than that, *in the ordinary course of politics*, the Conservative party should have its chances and its turns of office. But I dread the consequences of an attempt to reach that end by the kind of challenge now thrown out, and by straining the power of the House of Lords. The attempt, I feel sure, will recoil on those who made it; and will really give an impulse—I fear a powerful one—to that under-current of mere Republicanism, which, I think, is stronger and more formidable than persons suppose, and which the examples of America, of our Colonies, and of France tend every day to make more so.

With these prospects before us, I am myself, *officially*, like a man who is conscious of a mortal disease, and cannot tell how soon it may bring him to his end. What will be the counsels of the Ministry,—above all, of its Head,—when the House of Lords has again thrown out the Franchise Bill? I wish I could be sure that the answer to that question will be one of which I can honestly share the responsibility. The contrary is (I think)

more probable; in which case your friend will no longer have any influence over the destinies of his country, and will devote what remains of his life to thoughts and studies of a different kind.

Since I last wrote to you, the developments of German ambition have compelled us to proclaim a Protectorate over Southern New Guinea; and I can only trust that the principles on which we have resolved to act in the establishment and exercise of our authority there may be honestly adhered to. I cannot suppose that what we have done, so far, will be disapproved by you; because it is, in substance, what you yourself foresaw as a necessity of the future, and (in your paper, written when Lord Carnarvon was Colonial Secretary) virtually recommended.

I have not heard whether the Commission as to German claims on this country, in respect of lands in Fiji, has as yet made any progress. I said, in my last, that, on the principles as to international disputes which this country has, of late years, generally accepted, it was difficult, theoretically, to resist Bismarck's pressure on this subject, without facing a serious quarrel with Germany: and the position of Germany in Europe, together with our own Egyptian embarrassments, made that alternative most distasteful to our Foreign Office. For my own part, I cannot perceive, hitherto, that we have gained much by the concession; whether its results may be much, or little, or nothing, as far as the German claims in question are concerned: and I do so thoroughly detest and distrust Bismarck and his policy, and see so much danger in even the appearance of being unable or unwilling to hold our own against him, that I would rather have run the risk, whatever it might be. But, on a question (after all) of Foreign policy (with a money question behind it), I should have found no support,—not even from Gladstone, who (on such subjects as Fiji) is *most* in sympathy with me.—Believe me, ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (BENSON)

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 29*th October* 1884.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP—I return your enclosure, which seems to me very good; and I cannot think there can be

any just reason why it should not be issued, as prepared by the Archbishop of York and yourself.

There is one suggestion, which I venture to make, as to a point which might well not have presented itself to your own or the Archbishop of York's mind, as requiring notice. But I cannot help thinking there are those who need to be warned, not only against throwing in the way of others, by improper pressure, a temptation to promise insincerely, and afterwards to break the promise, but also *against vindictiveness and unneighbourly conduct towards those who act or speak as independent citizens and electors in support of candidates, or political opinions, different from their own.*—Believe me, yours most faithfully, SELBORNE.

To LADY WILFREDA BIDDULPH

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 16*th November* 1884.

. . . This week will decide our fate. A few days ago, when it was made known that the second reading of the Franchise Bill would be taken unopposed, we thought that the Lords had recovered their reason; but now we have the prospect before us of this opposition being renewed, by another dilatory amendment, upon the motion to go into Committee on the Bill on Thursday next. And this, although Mr. Gladstone has done, said, and offered more, in the way of conciliations, and to remove any reasonable pretext for continued opposition, than was ever before thought possible. He has offered, not only to give the leaders of the Opposition a voice in determining the lines on which the Redistribution Bill should be drawn, but to yield some points (of no slight importance) to what he understands to be their views: and he has been willing to introduce, and to pledge himself to proceed with, that Bill without delay, if the Lords will pass the Franchise Bill, or give any assurance that it shall be passed. More than this it would have been impossible for any one in his position to concede; but we have, as yet, no reason to believe that these offers will be accepted; although Sir Richard Cross, and several other leading Conservatives in the House of Commons, have very clearly declared their wishes that a settlement should be arrived at on some such terms. Whether Lord Salisbury will be able still to get a majority of

the Peers to follow him down the precipice, through thick and thin, remains to be seen.

With respect to Egypt, the French have been very industrious (both at Cairo and in Paris) in manufacturing the most terrible and circumstantial reports of the capture of Khartoum, the death of Gordon, etc. But we had the pleasure, yesterday, of receiving a telegram from Lord Wolseley, transmitting the contents of a letter from Gordon, dated as lately as *the 4th of this month*, by which it appears that he was then safe and well, and in no danger of his provisions, etc., falling short. There is, therefore, no reason to fear that our Nile expedition will be too late for its object: everything is going on according to Lord Wolseley's expectations; and I feel as confident, as it is reasonable to be about anything, that he will be as successful in this enterprise as he has been in all others with which he has been entrusted. It is, however, only too certain that poor Colonel Stewart and his companions have perished.

I have no other Egyptian news for you—no results having, as yet, followed from Lord Northbrook's mission.

With regard to the Transvaal, there is strong reason to hope that the decided attitude of our Government, and the preparations which we are making (including the vote of money, which has been freely granted by the House of Commons), will bring the freebooters in Bechuanaland to their senses, without bloodshed.—Believe me ever, my dearest child, your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

30 Portland Place, *2nd December* 1884.

. . . The Government and the Opposition are at last in such a happy family mood, that we really expect to wind up this session on Saturday! passing the Franchise Bill, and reading the Redistribution Bill a second time, before we separate! It is an age of wonders! Mr. Gladstone has done the right thing, with a degree of courage and wisdom, which few men, under the same circumstances, would have shown. And the peculiarity of the case is, that *both* sides may say with some truth, that they have justified, by the results, the course which

they took from the beginning, and have done nothing really inconsistent with it.

Dear Willie's chances at Coventry may be much altered, by the place losing one of its members.—Ever your most affectionate

SELBORNE.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 31*st December* 1884.

. . . If our home politics have become smoother, by Gladstone's wise and dispassionate management of the Franchise and Redistribution controversy (though for this, I fear we have had to pay the price of letting the Conservatives give a stronger and more adventurous form to the Redistributions, than we should have done ourselves), on the other hand, I fear we are fast getting into a deadlock with all Europe about Egypt; and I am far from easy about the tendencies and ultimate consequences of the sudden developments of colonial ambition on the part of Germany, which are producing a general scramble for annexations or protectorates in Africa and in the Pacific. All these things are done by Germany, with the characteristic rapidity and unscrupulousness of Prussian statecraft; and I must confess to a feeling of humiliation at the passive part which we have played, and are still playing, under the idea that a breach with Germany, at this juncture, would make our chances of honourable extrication from the Egyptian difficulty even less than they are; when my own conviction is, that we shall reckon without our host, if we expect *any* return for anything which we do or consent to do, except opposition to all our proposals, and thereby (if at all) disguised hostility. No doubt, as we did not want to annex territory ourselves, either in Africa or in the Pacific (where we could possibly avoid it), we could not forbid those astonishing movements of Germany and France in regions to which we made no claim—that is, we could not forbid it, except by menace of war; and war, for such a cause, it would be difficult for *us* (of all nations in the world, of which we have appropriated such enormous tracts) to justify, let alone the question how far we are *in a condition* to make war against all Europe. Still, the position is most anxious; and to me, as I

have said, not without humiliations. The Colonial party here, also, is increasingly powerful and aggressive. Rosebery and Carnarvon both caress and flatter it; and what developments it may urge upon us, in consequence of the German proceedings in New Guinea (north), New Britain, and New Ireland remains to be seen. As to the Fiji question, between us and Germany, I have not lately heard of its making any progress. The weakness of our ground on that point was, that we have so much and so often committed ourselves to the principle of arbitrations, in case of international disputes, as to make the refusal of it to Germany, when proposed as urgently as it was, hardly possible from the Foreign Office point of view. I do not, however, pretend for a moment to deny that I thoroughly disliked it; and (if it had depended upon me), I would rather have risked a quarrel with Bismarck.—Believe me, ever yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

I pass to other affairs, which in 1884 and 1885 were subjects of anxiety to the Cabinet, and greatly exercised the mind of Parliament and the country: affairs, the mismanagement of which, as many thought it, and at all events the ill-success, did more than anything else to undermine the reputation and authority of that Government.

After the suppression of Arabi Pasha's rebellion, we made strenuous and unremitting exertions for the improvement of the finances and general administration of Egypt,—efforts which, by slow and painful degrees, have borne much fruit for good. We assumed, from time to time, new responsibilities, hoping always that they might be of short duration. We resisted all currents of opinion tending towards a British annexation of Egypt (though sometimes they ran strong and high), with a firm resolution to

be faithful to international obligations. But we were continually crossed and thwarted by impediments to those things which we considered necessary for the good of Egypt, arising out of the conventions between the Khedive and other European Powers, which surrounded us like a hedge of thorns. The feeling which, all through those years, actuated me as to this part of our policy, was expressed in the following passage of a memorandum which I drew up at Lord Northbrook's suggestion, at the end of 1884 :—

> I am among those who now look back with sincere regret, after experience of its consequences, to our original interference in Egypt; and I am most anxiously desirous of finding the best way possible out of it. But I think the honour and the interest of this country,—to say nothing of what I believe to be the general public sentiment,—must forbid our leaving Egypt with ignominy and humiliation, or abandoning the Khedive to the animosity of the Porte, and the Egyptian people to mere anarchy, until they fall into the hands of France, or whatever other powers may struggle to make them their prey.

This whole stage of things, with which we had to deal in Egypt, was a legacy from the extravagant ambition of Ismail, the father of the reigning Khedive, whose deposition in his son's favour was the fruit of his folly. It was Ismail who extended the dominion of Egypt to the Soudan, by the help of Sir Samuel Baker first, and afterwards General Gordon. As long as the newly-acquired provinces were administered by Gordon, they were well governed, and the slave-trade was effectually driven back. But during the years which followed, abuses and oppressions came in, and

the way was prepared for the insurrection of Arab tribes under the chief called the "Mahdi," which began in 1881, in the regions west of the Nile. There was a rumour, current in most parts of the Mahometan world, that a great revival and restoration of the power of Mahometanism was to be effected by a new prophet who was to arise about that time. This gave the strength of religious enthusiasm to the Mahdi, who pretended to be that prophet (whence his title), and to his followers. The Government of the Khedive, confident of their ability to suppress the revolt even after it had acquired formidable dimensions, sent a force of 12,000 men, under Hicks, to Kordofan for that purpose. We were blamed after the event for not opposing that measure. But, besides the difficulty of requiring the Khedive to give up a large and important territory without some proved necessity, there were weighty reasons for the opinion, that, if he could keep the whole or part of it without too great a strain on the resources of Egypt, it would be well to do so. The superiority in fighting qualities of the Mahdi's troops (not unlike the old Saracens) was not yet understood. Abuses of administration might be reformed under our own or other European influence, while the country belonged to Egypt, but we should have neither control nor influence, if it passed under a new Arab dominion; nor was it likely, that such a dominion would be less oppressive than that of the Khedive. The Arabs would certainly do all they could to revive the slave-trade. Their power, if established with the command of the Nile above the

cataracts, might be a standing menace to Egypt, especially if British troops were withdrawn from that country; and we wished, whenever we could, to withdraw them. Commercial intercourse with Nubia was important to the population of Upper Egypt. And access by the White Nile to the great equatorial regions, which recent discoveries and explorations had done so much to open, and by means of which the influences of Christianity and civilisation might gradually be extended to Central Africa, would be cut off, if a hostile fanatical Power stood in the way.

These considerations had weight, until the defeat and destruction of Hicks and his army in the autumn of 1883. But that event changed the conditions of the question. There was no second Egyptian army, which could take the field and retrieve that loss; and the Egyptian finances could not bear the charge of prolonged military operations on the necessary scale, even if new armies could have been raised. We had never ourselves contemplated undertaking such operations, to maintain or restore Egyptian authority in the Soudan; nor would Parliament have supported us, if we had. There was no longer any alternative (unless worse ruin were to follow) but for Egypt to relinquish the ambitious policy of Ismail, and limit herself to an extent of territory which she could govern and defend. With that view, we advised the abandonment, not only of all the remoter provinces, but of Nubia beyond the second cataract. The Red Sea ports, however, were to be retained; chiefly because they would be the maritime outlets for a

revived slave-trade. Whatever was possible was to be done, for the peaceable withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons from stations (both inland and near the coast) which had not yet fallen into the Mahdi's hands. This was our policy under the new circumstances which had arisen; and, so far, there was no just ground for the charge brought against us of inconsistency or vacillation of purpose.

The operation of withdrawing the Egyptian garrisons, and protecting them till withdrawn, was one of hazard and difficulty. There was an Egyptian force under brave and skilful British officers at and near Suakim, which was supposed to be strong enough to hold that port, and also to relieve the neighbouring garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar. But that expectation was disappointed. Those Egyptian troops were defeated on several occasions by the Arab tribes under command of Osman Digna, the Mahdi's principal lieutenant in the desert region between Berber and the sea, a leader not only of high courage, but of some military capacity. It now became evident that, if the Red Sea ports were to be retained, and anything effectual done for the relief of both or either of those two garrisons, we must take that burden upon ourselves; and we did so,—too late, however, to save either Sinkat or Tokar. Suakim we successfully defended, defeating Osman Digna in two pitched battles; after which, he gave up the attack. As to these operations, we found ourselves at home between two fires. The Conservative Opposition blamed us for being too slow, and only acting when it was too late; and it was difficult to

deny that, since our intervention had proved to be necessary, it might have been better if we had intervened earlier. Others blamed us for interfering at all; and to them the language of Mr. Gladstone appeared to give countenance; for he spoke in the House of Commons of the Arabs whom we defeated at El Teb and Tamai as "a brave people fighting for their liberties." Brave they were; but they were fighting, as it seemed to me, not for liberty, but for power and the slave-trade; and in their use of power, when they gained it, they were sanguinary and fanatical. The words, it must be confessed, had a strange sound from the lips of a minister carrying on military operations against the people so described. I was myself perplexed with them, and did not understand what they meant.

This being the state of things upon the sea-coast, Khartoum, the capital of Upper Nubia, which from the days of Mehemet Ali had belonged to Egypt, was still in Egyptian hands. It had not only an Egyptian garrison, but a considerable civil and trading population, of which great part was Egyptian. General Gordon, whose former administration under Ismail had made him well known there, was sent out to do what he could for the accomplishment by peaceable means of the policy on which we had determined, and as to which he had definite instructions, with which he was at first content. The resolution to send him out was taken during the Christmas recess, after consultation between Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington. I believe no other

member of the Government knew anything about it at the time, but when it had been done, nobody objected to it; nor do I suppose any objection would have been made, if all had been previously consulted. He seemed to be the right man in the right place; and we thought that, if there was anything which could usefully be done, he would find the way to do it. Yet the step was a grave one, upon which serious consequences depended. Nothing was ever done more suddenly. One day he was in Brussels, accepting a commission to co-operate with Mr. Stanley on the Congo; the next day in London, agreeing at a moment's notice to go to Khartoum, and starting as soon as his instructions could be got ready. He left for Egypt on the 18th January 1884, and was in Khartoum by the 18th of February.

He was a man, to find whose like one must turn to the chivalry of the Crusades, or the heroes of romance. An enthusiastic Christian, a knight-errant ever ready for enterprise and adventure, a soldier of iron will, nobly despising all common objects of human desire and ambition; nature meant him for command, but not to execute other men's orders. To employ him in difficult affairs without giving him more or less of a free hand, or to judge his action under circumstances of difficulty by rules of red tape and routine, was an offence against the fitness of things. He was not a week at Khartoum before he took a view of the situation and of what ought to be done in it, different from that contemplated in his instructions. He perplexed the minds of most Englishmen by a proclamation

intended to quiet the minds of Soudanese slave-owners as to any interference with slavery as a domestic institution; and he perplexed the Cabinet by urging upon it the choice of his own sworn enemy Zebehr, with whom he had a blood feud, and whom Englishmen generally understood, upon his authority, to be an inveterate slave-trader, as the fittest person to establish an independent government at Khartoum. The reasons for such a choice could not have been made intelligible to the British public, nor would it have been acceptable at Cairo; yet it may be doubted whether his judgment on such a point ought to have been (as it was) overruled.

Until the beginning of April 1884, our communications with General Gordon were well kept up; but after that they were cut off, and we remained for several months without letters from him, and without knowing whether he had received our answers to his own, in which the views of the Government were explained. We had no light as to his actual situation, except rumours, more or less vague and uncertain; but we knew that he had offered terms to the Mahdi, which that personage had rejected, and that he had to defend Khartoum by force. The country began to feel uneasiness: but Gladstone had no misgivings. He declared in the House of Commons—rightly, as all or most of us thought—that the Government was responsible for General Gordon's safety. But he declared also his own conviction that he was as safe at Khartoum as he would be in Regent Street; and that, if there were any danger to that place, he had the means of

ascending the Nile at any time to the equatorial regions, and from thence making his way to the coast near Zanzibar. Preparations, nevertheless, were made for a relief expedition from Suakim, and for the construction of a temporary railway between that place and Berber, for the conveyance of troops and guns; but the opinions of military authorities fluctuated from time to time, some being for that, and others for the Nile route: and it looked very much as if nothing would ever be done.

Mr. Gladstone's sanguine views as to General Gordon's personal safety were shared by his brother, Sir Henry Gordon, who in June or July published a paper on the situation (without his name, but known to be his) in the *Contemporary Review*. But I thought that more than this was necessary to justify inaction on our part; and so did Lord Hartington and others of my colleagues. I entered into personal communication with Sir Henry Gordon and learnt what I could from him, both by conversation and by letter. He thought that his brother could at any time leave Khartoum, but that he would not do so without some security for the safety of all, soldiers or civilians, who had been faithful to him; and, therefore, that if an expedition were sent out, it ought to be more on their account than on his. Sir Henry's own leading idea was that the policy of the Cabinet ought to be to form an independent government at Khartoum, and not to abandon that place to anarchy; and that this policy should be distinctly declared. To its practical difficulty he did not shut his eyes; he

inclined towards Zebehr, and yet manifestly did not trust him. I have no doubt he expressed himself in the same sense to Gladstone, with whom he was also in communication.

After carefully considering all that Sir Henry Gordon said, I put my own view of the case, and of the duty which it imposed upon us, into the form of a memorandum dated the 29th of July, which (with Gladstone's consent, and accompanied by his observations upon it) I circulated to our colleagues. It was as follows:—

I assume, as beyond controversy, that the Government is and holds itself to be, bound by the declarations made in Parliament by leading Ministers on this subject; which (as generally understood, and as I myself understand them) were, that we acknowledged ourselves to be under responsibility for the safety of General Gordon, and would be prepared, in due time, to take any measures which might be necessary and reasonably practicable for his relief, if in danger. The first question, therefore, is, whether General Gordon ought or ought not to be regarded as being in a position of danger unless some measures are taken with a view to his relief?

All communication between him and the Government (either direct, or through the Government of Egypt) has now been interrupted for more than three months. Our last message from him was dated early in April; and his brother, Sir Henry Gordon, has not heard from him since the latter part of March. We know that Berber is in the hands of tribes hostile to him; and we know the same of the country between Berber and Suakim. We have used all means which have suggested themselves, ordinary and extraordinary, to send messages to him and receive answers;—we do not know that he has received any of our messages, and we have received no answers. The most recent reports, through Dongola and Suakim, appear to show that he has been and is successfully defending himself, and is in no *present* danger. But they also show that he is expecting a

force to be sent for his relief. We know nothing (and his brother Sir Henry Gordon cannot know more than we do) as to the position, strength, or resources of any hostile tribes either above or below Khartoum against which he may be now defending himself, or may have to defend himself hereafter. As to his means of continuing to hold his ground, the information which we received early in the year does not entitle us to expect that his supplies will last beyond October. Sir Henry Gordon thinks (apparently with reason) that he will be in most imminent danger whenever his ammunition fails. The assumption that, with or without ammunition, he might sail up the White Nile to the equatorial regions whenever he chose to do so, and thence make his way to the coast by Zanzibar or to the upper Congo, seems to me to be rash and unwarranted, in our present absolute ignorance of his exact situation and of the attitude and disposition of the tribes between Khartoum and Gondokoro. I am aware that General Gordon himself some months since entertained that idea, and that it is still entertained by Sir Henry Gordon. But Sir Henry Gordon's opinion on this point must be taken with the qualification, that he believes this mode of escape, though physically possible, to be certain to have for its consequence the massacre, not only of any Egyptian soldiers who might be left behind, but of the whole civil and trading population of Khartoum who have loyally stood by General Gordon, and with whom he would rather perish than desert them in such an extremity. I am not myself convinced that there is sufficient ground for this belief; but I am just as little convinced of the sufficiency of the ground for supposing that such a mode of escape would be really open to him, unless he were very well provided with the means of forcing his way, if attacked as he probably would be.

In this state of things, it does not seem to me that those who are under any responsibility for his safety have sufficient reason for believing his position to be one which will be safe beyond the coming autumn. The question remains, whether he has done anything which, fairly and reasonably considered, ought to exonerate us from that responsibility? For my own part, I see no ground for such an opinion, if anybody entertains it. There is nothing whatever to show that the military operations which he

has been carrying on have exceeded what was necessary for strictly defensive purposes; nor can it be imagined that he would have any motive for making war upon tribes by whom he was not attacked or threatened. Is he to be condemned for operating actively against those who have attacked or threatened him, as we ourselves did near Suakim?

I do not doubt at all that he is unwilling to relinquish the hope of establishing some settled government at Khartoum; and I know his brother's opinion upon that point, and that, if his brother's opinion is to be accepted as decisive, the conclusion might be that any expedition for his relief would be fruitless, unless that object were in some way accomplished. But if our policy in this respect differs from that which Sir Henry Gordon thinks indispensable, I cannot therefore regard General Gordon's position, if left destitute of all means of defence without being himself so much as heard on the subject, as one for which we shall have no responsibility. If a force were sent, it would necessarily obey our orders, and not General Gordon's, if his views were different. If it were a force sufficient only for the purpose of opening communication with him, ascertaining his position, and supplying his wants, we should at least have shown some care for his safety. I cannot impute it to him as a fault that he has been desirous of leaving behind him a settled government at Khartoum. The accomplishment of that object, if possible by peaceable means, was contemplated at the commencement of his mission; and it was in itself beyond all doubt desirable for the security and tranquillity of Egypt. The fact that General Gordon has been under the necessity of repelling force by force, does not prove that he has sought to accomplish that object by other than peaceable means. His language about "crushing the Mahdi," etc., is perfectly intelligible, if he was attacked or threatened by the Mahdi's followers, without imputing to him any such purpose. It is surely premature (to say the least) to treat him as having disobeyed or disregarded the orders or messages latterly sent to him, until we really know what he has actually done, and why he has done it, and whether those orders and messages were received by him or not. I am as much averse as any man possibly can be to sending out an unnecessary and a more or less costly expedition, to encounter the difficulties

and dangers of any route which may be practicable between Egypt or the Red Sea and Khartoum. But I am still more averse to acting towards a public servant, in whose reputation and safety all England, and (I might almost say) the world is interested—who has accepted at our instance a mission of extraordinary difficulty—as if we had no real sense of the responsibilities which we have publicly acknowledged, or as if something (of which I can see no evidence at all) had happened to absolve us from those responsibilities. Even if lower considerations than those of strict obligation were regarded, I cannot but think that this latter course would be more dangerous to our general interests as a nation, and our position and prospects with respect to Egypt, and more costly in the end, than the former. As to the alternative of sending Zebehr into the Soudan (towards which Sir Henry Gordon evidently still leans, though with much hesitation), I will only say that I should prefer that, or almost anything else, to letting things drift and take their course without either preparation or action. At all events, some serious and sufficient effort should now be made, by whatever means are really necessary, to reopen communications with General Gordon. Sir Henry Gordon thinks that, for this purpose, more attention should be given to the route by way of Massowah and Kassala than it seems to have hitherto received. This, if I remember right, was the route by which Mr. Guy Dawnay volunteered, some time since, to go to General Gordon's relief.

This memorandum, together with other expressions of opinion which it confirmed or contributed to elicit, from Lord Hartington and others who took the same view, brought the question to a point: and Lord Wolseley's expedition by the Nile route (which he preferred) was the result of the resolution then taken. The expedition was met, when it had all but reached its destination after fighting its way successfully against fierce and obstinate resistance, by the news of the capture of Khartoum and the death of Gordon on the 26th of January 1885. The primary object, of

relieving him and providing for his safety, was thus unhappily frustrated;—but that the British general should at once retrace his steps in the face of that disaster, leaving the Mahdi unmolested in the enjoyment of his triumph, did not seem to be the course most becoming the power and dignity of the British nation. My own feeling on that point was expressed in the following answer[1] to a letter of expostulation which I received from a supporter of the Government:—

I have to thank you for the kind and courteous tone of your letter towards myself personally; and, if I differ from you, I think it is as to facts, rather than principles. While I cannot but hold that war, when entered into for right and necessary objects, is lawful, I deplore the necessity even when I am convinced that it exists, and I agree heartily with those who condemn it when it has not that justification. I cannot discuss with you the question of the whole policy which the Government has pursued in Egypt: which, whether mistaken or not, has been founded on our view of the public engagements of this country. But I can, at least, place before you my reasons for not sharing your scruples as to the military operations in the Soudan. We advised (indeed virtually compelled) the Egyptian Government after Hicks's defeat, to relinquish the Soudan, which they were unable to hold, and to withdraw as soon as possible their garrisons. Our advice did not extend to the Red Sea ports, near which were some of the garrisons. To relieve them, if possible, and at the same time to keep closed the outlets for the Soudan slave-trade, were legitimate objects of our policy. The Egyptians proved unable to do this for themselves; and it was for these defensive purposes that the operations undertaken last year at and near Suakim were carried on. We were not the aggressors: Osman Digna was the aggressor upon the garrisons, and threatened Suakim. We did not attack him

[1] 6th April 1885.

without first offering terms, which he refused with defiance; nor did he ever himself propose to us terms of peace. Whatever causes justify warlike operations, justify also their prosecution by vigorous measures; they cannot be carried on by standing passively on the defence, or without such efforts as are necessary for success. Our victories over Osman Digna were not (as some say) fruitless: his power was checked; and, though Sinkat and Tokar were not saved, nor Kassala or Berber relieved, the Red Sea ports were made secure, and the maritime outlets of the slave-trade in that region have remained closed. We sent General Gordon on a pacific mission to Khartoum, with a view to bring away the garrisons there and at Senaar, and (if possible) to replace the Egyptian by some sort of native Government there, which might set limits to the Mahdi's power and to the danger of its extension in the direction of Egypt, without encouraging the slave-trade. For these objects, we did not desire or contemplate the use of force. General Gordon did not attack the Mahdi: almost his first act was to propose to recognise him as ruler of Kordofan, where (and where alone) he was already established: which offer the Mahdi rejected. The Mahdi and his followers,—whose cause I regard, not as that of local liberty, but as the sanguinary propagation of a fanatical tyranny,—attacked and besieged Gordon at Khartoum: and Gordon for many months heroically defended himself. The Government which sent him there admitted their responsibility for him, and their obligation to use proper means for his safety: —they could not, in my opinion, have done less, consistently with duty and honour. They did not take military measures for this purpose till it had become clear that they must be taken at once if the pledge which had been given was to be redeemed. Our troops, if they had been not forcibly resisted in their progress towards Khartoum, would not have gone out of their way to fight. Their mission was to extricate General Gordon and those who were with him from the dangers surrounding them, and to make the best arrangements which might be found practicable for the future; but not to remain in the Soudan indefinitely, or for aggressive purposes. That this was the character of their mission, must have been well known to the Mahdi and his followers: who, nevertheless, persevered in their hostilities;

and having, by treachery from within, obtained possession of Khartoum, put to death Gordon, the representative of this country, in the face, and almost under the eyes of the British force sent for his relief. I hold it to have been impossible, under such circumstances, simply to relinquish our expedition and retire, leaving the Mahdi in undisturbed possession of his conquest with an unbroken power: which, magnified in the eyes of all his followers by success, and by our apparent inability to resist it, must have been a standing menace to Egypt, to the very borders of which it would have at once extended; and must have postponed (nobody can say how long) all hope of our being able to terminate our engagements for the defence of that country, and to withdraw from its military occupation; and would probably have obliged us considerably to increase our force there. Nor can I think that, if we had at that time taken such a step, those interests, in other parts of the world, which are bound up with the maintenance of British honour and power, would have been safe. It is duty, and not vainglory or selfishness, which requires a great nation to maintain its power, even (if necessary) at great sacrifices. It may be right for individual men sometimes to endure without resentment or resistance checks and defeats, or even insults and injuries. But the rulers of a nation to which are entrusted the guardianship of the welfare and the protection of the rights, both of its own people and of a vast empire beyond, with the responsibilities which attend public engagements with other states, cannot do so without being unfaithful to their trust. If the rulers of this country did so, these evils would be rapidly and in many quarters multiplied; endangering the loss, not of our Empire only, but of our domestic peace, liberty, and independence.

Strong as these motives for not retracing our steps without making our power felt at Khartoum were, they were overruled in the result by the force of circumstances, not foreseen. An immediate advance upon either Khartoum or Berber might have been possible; and if such a step had been deemed prudent by Lord Wolseley, it would, no doubt, have been

taken. But the altered position of affairs made it necessary to consider whether the strength and resources of an expedition intended for a different state of things might not prove inadequate to prolonged offensive operations in an unhealthy climate, against an enemy holding possession of fortified towns, and flushed with success: and to remove all uncertainty on that point, some considerable increase both of force and of expenditure might have been needed. This, as we understood, was Lord Wolseley's opinion.[1] Whether we should have been ready to make those sacrifices, and have been supported in doing so by Parliament, if there had been no sign of danger in any other quarter, I cannot undertake to say. But, just at that critical moment, we became involved in a dangerous controversy with Russia as to the frontier of Afghanistan: and movements of Russian troops in the neighbourhood of Herat took place, under circumstances which seemed to make a rupture imminent. Whether the occupation of our troops upon the Nile had anything to do with the attitude of Russia in that dispute, can be no more than matter of conjecture; but, if we were to be ready for a war with Russia in the East, it was necessary that all our disposable force should be made available for that service: two serious wars, one in the Soudan, and another in Asia, could not go on

[1] "I know" (said Mr. Gladstone, in his Midlothian Address, Sept. 17, 1885), "there are persons of no mean authority who have held that the expedition to Khartoum would have been the most arduous military effort undertaken by us since the battle of Waterloo."

together. So on the 13th of April, at a Cabinet from which the heaviest of domestic afflictions made my absence unavoidable, the resolution to withdraw Lord Wolseley's army from the valley of the Nile was taken; and Parliament, a week afterwards, was asked for a vote of £11,000,000, partly for expenses incurred in the Soudan, and partly for the preparations required, in view of the contingency of a Russian War. But, when this had been done, the Russian scare subsided, almost as unexpectedly as it had risen;—misunderstandings which seem insoluble were cleared up; difficulties which seem insuperable were overcome. The alarm in Afghanistan passed away, without leaving behind it in that country any lasting effects; but in Nubia it gave safety to the captors of Berber and Khartoum, and permanence to their conquests.

TO THE ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD (PALMER)

BLACKMOOR, *29th January* 1885.

The loss of Sir H. Stewart (a Wykehamist) is a great drawback upon successes, otherwise very satisfactory, and confirming our hopes of a successful result to an expedition which I have always thought of vital consequence. I am happy to say that there is now every prospect of our coming to (what I think) a good settlement with France and the other European Powers.

I have been reading, with great interest, John Wordsworth's *Bampton Lectures.* There are only about two pages (in the chapter on the Atonement) which I do *not like.*—Ever your most affectionate brother, SELBORNE.

CHAPTER XXVIII

LORD TENNYSON—BISHOPRIC OF SOUTHWELL—PUBLIC LOSSES—MY WIFE'S DEATH

1884–1885

A GREAT honour was done me in 1884 by Lord Tennyson; who, on the publication of his *Becket*, dedicated it to me. He had read it to me when we were with him at Farringford from the manuscript.

The dedication is as follows:—

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL OF SELBORNE

MY DEAR SELBORNE—To you, the honoured Chancellor of our own day, I dedicate this dramatic memorial of your great predecessor—which, although not intended in its present form to meet the exigencies of our modern theatre, has nevertheless—for so you have assured me—won your approbation.—Ever yours, TENNYSON.

TO LORD TENNYSON

30 PORTLAND PLACE.

. . . But I can no longer delay thanking you for it[1] and for the dedication. All of us, I suppose, who have so far come out

---

[1] *Becket* sent to Lord Selborne by Lord Tennyson.

conquerors in the great internal struggles of life as to have been enabled to play some part, in the hope that it may be for good, in the world, must share in the natural feeling of the ancients, who did not look upon death as Christians do, that there would be something, not the mere memory of places, offices, or titles, and still less pompous memorials, to rescue our names from the obscurity and virtual oblivion which history has in store for all but a very few of those, whose inner lives are as little known as mine. This makes me accept your dedication as the greatest real honour that has ever been done me: that you should be my *vates sacer* and let those remote generations of the best spirits among the English-speaking race, who will read your works, know that there was something in me, which had won your friendship and esteem, is more than I could have hoped for.—Believe me, ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

[On 12th October 1892, my Father was one of the pall-bearers at Lord Tennyson's funeral. He said to me, as we returned home: "He is the man to be envied; with his glorious gift he has done one unbroken service to God and man. Never a word to weaken, never a word to taint; God bless him for his unfaltering teaching from the purest springs of beauty." Thinking that Lord Tennyson would dislike any personal references in these *Memorials*, my Father scrupulously avoided writing of him, but in 1893 he did so for the *Life of Lord Tennyson*, at the request of his son, by whose leave it is here given also.]

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 18*th July* 1893.

Lord Tennyson realised to me, more than any one else whom I have known, the "heroic" idea. Even in person, he was such a man as I could conceive Thiodolf the Icelander, the hero of that romance of De la Motte Fouqué which Sir Walter Scott most admired, to have been, when no longer young. The consciousness, which he could not but have, of his great vocation, and of the work which he had done, was tempered by a vein of modesty, almost childlike. His domestic

affections were very strong; and he had a happy home, in which the influence of others told upon him, hardly less (I think) than his own did on them. Wordsworth's wish, that his "days" should be "bound each to each in natural piety," seemed to be perfectly fulfilled in him. It was easy to see that he never forgot the influences which surrounded him in childhood, and never lost the habit of observing and sympathising with Nature, which colours much of his poetry. There was nothing in him conventional or commonplace, nothing artificial or affected. If he spoke of or recited his own poetry, as he often did among friends, it was from pure kindness, because he knew that they wished for it. But his interests were not in his own vocation only; he thought much on religious, scientific, and political questions, and expressed freely in conversation the opinions which he had formed on them. I did not see everything in exactly the same light that he did; but everything which he said had the stamp of reality, and it was wholesome and refreshing to listen to him. He looked at questions of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong, with a vision undisturbed by false sentiment, and free from the distortions of party spirit and personal sympathies or antipathies. He was noble, simple, manly, reverent as well as strong, with a frankness which might at times seem rough, but which was never inconsistent with the finest courtesy and the gentlest heart. I do not think I could better describe the impression which he made upon me by any multiplication of words. He was great in him-

self, as well as in his work; the foremost man, in my eyes, of all his generation; and entitled to be ranked with the greatest of the generations before him.

Christopher Wordsworth resigned the Bishopric of Lincoln in 1884, a year before his death. It was to his exertions and influence, towards the close of his episcopate, that the formation of the See of Southwell was mainly due. I used to see a great deal of him when he was Headmaster of Harrow, in the earlier days of my London life, and was often his guest there. Afterwards, when the increase of business left me less leisure, our opportunities of familiar intercourse were not so frequent: but my esteem and regard for him remained the same. He was a fine scholar and copious writer, with a wide range of learning. No man in recent times has formed a higher or more primitive conception of what the life and manners of a Bishop ought to be, or has more consistently fulfilled it. He was an uncompromising theologian and churchman, but not a party man; and his apostolic spirit gained for him general respect.

On the formation of the new diocese of Southwell, in February 1884, Mr. Gladstone (without any suggestion on my part) offered that Bishopric to my son-in-law, Dr. Ridding, who accepted it: and so Winchester lost one of the best of Headmasters, and Southwell gained a wise and large-minded Bishop. I had the satisfaction, as Chairman of the governing

body of Winchester College, of conveying to him a resolution, acknowledging the great value of his services to the College during the sixteen years of his Headmastership; which were thus described:—

During his tenure of office very great and important changes in the organisation and domestic economy of the school, as well as in its relation to the sister College in the University of Oxford, have been effected with signal success. Fresh distinctions have been continually obtained in classical learning, the study of other branches of useful knowledge has been encouraged and promoted, and constantly increasing facilities have been afforded for a due combination of physical with moral and intellectual cultivation and development. The discipline of the school has been steadily preserved, and a high and healthy moral tone has been maintained. These happy results have been due in no small degree to Dr. Ridding; not only to his energy, judgment, and ability, but also to his power of working harmoniously with other men; to his possession of those qualities which influence the conduct and character of boys; and to his habitual postponement of considerations personal to himself, manifested on not a few occasions by acts of disinterested liberality and munificence. He will now leave the school (as the governing body sincerely believe) in a condition not inferior to that which any public school in England has attained in its best days.

We were present at his consecration in St. Paul's Cathedral on the 1st, and at his installation in Southwell Minster on the 28th of May, and we had the pleasure of accompanying him on his first visits to Nottingham and Derby, the chief towns of the new diocese, where his reception was very cordial. He has not fallen short of the expectations formed of him, during the years of his episcopate which have since elapsed; and my daughter Laura's desire to do all the good she can, in aid of her husband's work,

and in other ways, has been appreciated in that sphere of duty, as it was at Winchester.

Two other events, of much private interest to us, happened before the end of 1884. The eldest of my son's children,[1] Mabel Laura Georgina, was born on the 6th of October. And at Blackmoor Mr. Warman[2] was succeeded as Vicar by the Rev. Edward Denison Lear, a Wykehamist, and nephew of two intimate friends of my brother Horsley. Mr. Lear entered on his duties on the 15th of June 1884, and has continued till the present time[3] to perform them, to the great benefit of his people.

It was in 1884 that I was enabled to complete a rearrangement of the subordinate offices in the Lord Chancellor's department, which I had for some time contemplated, as necessary for the public service. The Lord Chancellor, though Minister of Justice for almost every purpose unconnected with the criminal law, had no assistance of the kind given to the other chief departments of State by their permanent secretaries or under-secretaries. The officers attached to him were personal, and liable to change with every change of Government; and in their numbers and emoluments, as long as they were of that char-

[1] The younger were born, Roundell Cecil on the 15th of April 1887; Robert Stafford Arthur on the 26th of September 1888; and William Jocelyn Lewis, 15th September 1894.

[2] He followed the Rev. W. W. Howard, now Rector of Market Deeping and Dean of Stamford, who had strengthened and maintained the work of his predecessor Canon Jelf at Blackmoor.

[3] He left us for Mells in Somersetshire in 1891, and was succeeded by the Rev. R. A. C. Bevan.

acter, there appeared to be room for retrenchment. But on each change of Government the want of continuity was more or less felt; and, as the Lord Chancellor's departmental work had a constant tendency to increase, the pressure of that want increased with it. This, by the arrangements made in May 1884, I was enabled to supply. The salaries of those personal officers who could not be dispensed with were revised, and most of them reduced; and a Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor for the time being was appointed. For that office I chose Kenneth Muir Mackenzie, of whose capacity and aptitude for business I had experience during a service of three years as my Principal Secretary upon the old footing; and whose high qualifications for the new post were recognised by the Judges and all others with whom his duties had brought him into contact. With the place of Permanent Secretary was to be united, on the first vacancy, and on terms effecting a substantial saving to the public, that of Clerk of the Crown. My cousin, Ralph Charlton Palmer, then Clerk of the Crown, had preceded Mackenzie in the place of Principal Secretary; and I took advantage of a vacancy which happened, not long afterwards, in the Lunacy Office, to transfer him to another post, for which he was well qualified; so bringing that part of the new arrangement into effect.[1]

[1] In 1884 Lord Chancellor Selborne also passed a Judicature Bill. He arranged a complete new circuit system, by which some of the smaller places had only one Judge instead of two; and the circuit expenses of the Judges were paid. He settled with the

The death of one of our greatest public men, Lord Cairns, on the 2nd of April 1885, after an illness so short that few were aware of it, but which his constitution was too weak to resist, took myself, and the country generally by surprise. Lord Salisbury said of him[1] justly, that "he had an eminence not very often granted to a single man; he was equally great as a lawyer, as a statesman, and as a legislator." Even that enumeration of his titles to greatness fell short of the truth; for he was also a great orator, and a man most exemplary in private life.

It would be difficult to name any Chancellor, except Lord Hardwicke, who was certainly his superior, or indeed in all respects his equal. Lord Somers was a greater statesman, Lord Lyndhurst a greater orator, Lord Eldon a more profoundly learned lawyer; but the degree in which they severally excelled him in these respects was less than that in which he excelled them in other qualities, more necessary than statecraft or eloquence, and not less necessary than learning, for a great judge; and the gifts which in them shone separately were in him combined. Lord Thurlow, Lord Rosslyn, and Lord Westbury had not less ability; but he was more of

Treasury the whole scale of fees for the Supreme Court, and the whole practice of the Paymaster's Office for the administration of Funds in Court. When he left office in 1885 he was engaged on a scheme for consolidating the Chancery Offices, which he believed would have greatly conduced to reducing the delays and expenses which are still characteristic of that branch of the High Court, while diminishing by nearly one-half the cost of the department.—K. M. M.

[1] In the House of Lords, 13th April 1885.

a statesman, a more persuasive orator, and on the whole a better judge, than any of them. There have been Chancellors (such as Lord Talbot, Lord Cranworth, and Lord Hatherley), whose private virtues were not less conspicuous, and whose public reputation was not less honourable, yet who were not, like him, as fit to play a great part in political as in judicial affairs.

This eminence he attained, with health so delicate at all times, that in the days of his greatest practice at the Bar he used to give up one day in almost every week during the proper season to hunting; and, when his services in the House of Commons could ill be spared by his party, he was under the necessity of taking the post of Lord Justice rather than go on with the double strain of professional and parliamentary work as Attorney-General.

As a speaker, he was lucid, methodical, acute, incisive; and in his political views, when they were really his own, not narrow. But he yielded too easily to party influences, especially on questions relating to his native country Ireland. He had a fine person, regular well-formed features, an agreeable voice, and a natural refinement of manners, though his manners could not be called popular. It was either some stiffness of manner or the preference of an aristocratic assembly for territorial magnates over lawyers, which prevented him from being successful as leader of the Conservative Opposition in the House of Lords, which he was for a short time. His whole carriage, life, and conversation he was a

thorough gentleman, adorning the Christian profession, to which he was always true.

He died during the Easter recess; and when the House met again, the general sorrow for his loss was worthily expressed by Lord Granville, to whom he had been so often opposed, by Lord Salisbury, his friend and colleague, and by Lord Coleridge, who spoke of him with judicial impartiality. I could not be there; but Lord Granville read a letter from me, in which I asked him to say that I was among those who felt this loss deeply, both upon public and on private grounds; and that, if I had not myself been suffering under the severest affliction, I should have desired from my place in the House, "to endeavour to pay that tribute to his great qualities, for which nearly forty years of constant intercourse on terms of friendship, never interrupted, might perhaps have qualified me."

TO THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 2*nd April* 1885.

DEAREST LOVE—I cannot help writing a postscript to my letter of to-day, to exchange with you a word of sorrow at the news of Lord Cairns's death. You know how I have always esteemed him.

Everybody inquires kindly after you; and your husband never forgets you for a single moment in the day. I must now finish as we are going to evening church. God bless and keep you ever, my own dearest. Love to Sophy.—Your affectionate husband, SELBORNE.

Yr Fondmother
L. Selborne

HOLMBURY, DORKING, *9th April* 1885.

MY DEAR SELBORNE—. . . I am deeply grieved, as are your friends here, at the intelligence you give me on the subject of Lady Selborne's health and strength. I will only say that I enter into your feelings, and I earnestly trust and pray that you and she (yours the sorer trial), may be abundantly supported and guided in whatever dispensation God may have in store for you.—Believe me, always your attached friend,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The calamity which was pressing upon me was indeed the heaviest which could befall a man. During that Recess, on Friday after Easter, the 10th of April, it pleased God to take from me my wife, the light of my life for more than thirty-seven years. She had been ill, and was convalescent when I left her and went, by her urgent wish, to Blackmoor with the Waldegraves. She caught cold on Easter eve, bronchitis set in, and on Easter Monday I was brought back by a sudden message to London, and found her strength failing. On the following Friday she gave up her spirit to the God in whom she trusted; and on Tuesday the 14th we laid her body to rest in Blackmoor Churchyard.

Of the assurances of sympathy with us in so great an affliction, which I and my children then received, none was more touching than one from the Queen, who answered[1] (from Aix-les-Bains) a letter which I wrote to her:—

"DEAR LORD CHANCELLOR—It was with deep concern that I saw in the papers the sad news of the

[1] 13th April 1888.

terrible loss which had befallen you, and was just going to write to you when I received your kind and touching letter this morning, for which pray accept my best thanks. Dear Lady Selborne was always so kind, and showed such true sympathy in every event which concerned me, ever since I had the pleasure of knowing her, that I feel truly grieved at her loss. But it is for you, to whom she was so devoted, that I feel *so deeply*, for to lose the loved companion of one's life is losing half one's own existence. From that time everything is different; every event seems to lose its effect; for joy which cannot be shared by those who feel everything with you is *no* joy; and sorrow is only redoubled when it cannot be shared and soothed by the *one* who alone could do so. The longer God has permitted us to remain together, the more acute must be the agony of separation: and I do *most* sincerely feel for you. No children *can* replace a wife—or a husband—may they be ever so good and devoted. One must bear one's burthen *alone*. That our Heavenly Father may give you strength in this heavy affliction, and that your health may not suffer, is the sincere prayer of, yours most truly, VICTORIA R.I.

"My daughter[1] (on the occasion of whose engagement dear Lady Selborne wrote so kindly) wishes me to express her deep sympathy; and I would ask you to convey the same to your son and daughters."

The Prince of Wales also, and very many more—colleagues in office, private friends, and poor women in

[1] H.R.H. Princess Henry of Battenberg.

London, to whom my wife had been as a ministering angel—wrote to offer such comfort as kind words could give. Nor was the sense of her worth and of the greatness of our loss confined to those who knew her well from personal intercourse. Mr. Henry Reeve[1] wrote—"This fatal Easter has struck many blows on those who were respected, not only by their friends, but by society at large, and by the country. But I know of no bereavement more unforeseen or more afflicting than yours. It will be felt and mourned through a very wide circle." Even in that part of the public press which was chiefly occupied by the follies and vices of mankind, the shafts of satire were for the moment laid aside to speak of her as "admirable," and to make kindly mention of her good works among the poor.[2]

For me to speak of what she was, and to be silent, is equally difficult; some things, however, I may say in my own words, some in the words of others.

She was by nature lively, and of a high spirit. Her mother taught her to found her principles of action upon the Holy Scriptures, and to be on her guard against looking too much to men's esteem. Thus trained, she attained to a rare equability and consistency of character, without loss of brightness or independence of mind. Her understanding was clear, direct, and practical, and also very well informed; for she was as diligent a reader of good literature of every kind as her active duties allowed. She brought

[1] Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.
[2] *Truth*, 16th April 1885.

up her children very wisely, by love, not fear, and had the comfort of seeing them all grow up to follow the example which she had set them, without ever causing their parents distress or trouble. She devoted herself, with an affection which knew no bounds, and over which no cloud ever came, to her husband and his welfare; encouraging him in all his public and private work, helping to keep his faith from growing weak or his heart from growing cold, and taking those whom he best loved to the same place in her heart which they had in his own. She relieved him from all his private business and cares; and was to her servants a kind friend as well as a considerate mistress. Her charities flowed out freely to the poor, both in her immediate neighbourhood and in neglected parts of London. In the society of friends and equals she always took pleasure, and contributed to make it pleasant to others by her cheerful temperament and transparent sincerity. She often reminded me of Ben Jonson's line[1]:—"And you may see her heart shine through her breast." At Geneva in 1872, when it was a public service to make the social relations of the English party with the Americans and the arbitrators as agreeable as possible, she did it with singular grace, simplicity, and goodwill. It was the same with all Americans and also with all foreigners with whom she became acquainted in London.

One of the many who brought introductions to us, said of her, after his return home in a conversation which found its way into an American paper: "Lady

[1] *The Barriers* (Gifford's edition of Ben Jonson's works, vol. vii. p. 89).

Selborne has probably charmed more Americans than any other lady in England." There was a remarkable concord in the impression which she made upon persons of all ranks, and in many different relations to her. Lord Blachford spoke of her "bright transparent goodness,"—applying to her the words, ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαύτου ἐφανίσθη[1]; and Lord Granville of "the singular brightness and kindness of her countenance." Lord Fortescue, widower of one of her cousins, said:—"No one could know her even slightly, without being inspired with respect and regard for such unostentatious and unmistakable goodness and kindness, or could fail to notice how, born to a high station, she adorned and utilised to the glory of God one still higher." Sir James Bacon, one of my brother Judges, said:—"The recollection of such virtues and graces as have departed from you (the delight of all who knew her, and an active blessing to all who came within the scope of her large benevolence) will keep her memory and our sorrow fresh as long as human memory and human sorrows can endure." Arthur Hobhouse, one of the friends who stood by my side on the day of our marriage, wrote:—"She has run her race nobly and well. Her clear understanding, serene temper, and simple upright solid character, have secured you children and a household such as any man may envy. The same qualities have impressed others with a sense of her great value in those social affairs to which she could give attention, which will now become a sense

[1] *The spring has vanished out of the year* (quoted by Aristotle from Pericles, *Rhet.* iii. 10. 7).

of the severe loss they have sustained." And Lady Cardwell wrote—"Surely no one was ever so blessed in a wife. . . . The light that is quenched in her love, her wonderful interest and sympathy in our sore affliction, will make this world dark indeed to me now." Canon Jelf referred all this goodnes to its true source—her "absolute trust" in her Saviour, "her unbroken union with Him, her faithful following in the blessed steps of His most holy life."

In Blackmoor Churchyard, on the cross which marks the place where her body lies, I inscribed, from the last chapter of the Book of Proverbs, the words:—"Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all." In her life, as well as after her death, there were some to whose minds the picture which ends in those words was recalled when they thought of her. John Walter wrote to me—

In my own circle of acquaintance, I have known none of whom it could be more truly said, "She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness."

And my brother Edwin—

I remember, across I know not how many years, certainly more than thirty, our Father reading at a week-day service in Mixbury Church the last chapter of the Proverbs; and I could not help thinking of your wife, till the tears almost ran to my eyes for thankfulness: nor could I help thinking that the same thought was in the reader's mind too. Nor can I forget that from first to last she has verified that beautiful description; and yet has not stopped merely at the duties of a wife and a mother, but has shown, by her own example, that love which begins at

home may spread out into wider works of charity, and upwards into the love of God.

To Archdeacon Palmer

30 Portland Place, 11*th April* 1885.

Thank you for your last letter, and for all your love. If our trial is great (and no earthly trial could be greater), we have had, and have still, comfort unspeakable. In looking back, I can find nothing in *her* life, but cause of thankfulness and rejoicing: I have, for the present, children, for whom I cannot sufficiently thank God; and I have, in looking forward, the sense, which I hope God will enable me to realise, of communion with her, as well as with our parents and brothers and sisters, on both sides, in that Communion of Saints which the epistle to the Hebrews sets before us; and the trust, that, by His most unmerited mercy in our Lord Jesus Christ, I may be reunited with them and with her, in the eternal world.—Ever your most affectionate SELBORNE.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

30 Portland Place, 15*th April* 1885.

Since I last wrote to you, your wife has lost her mother; and we felt much for her. Now, it has pleased God to visit me with the greatest of all earthly calamities, by taking away from me my own wife, for whom I am sure you will mourn, with as true a sympathy as any heart can feel.

I may say that her health had been impaired for about three years, perhaps, from her care, anxiety, and watchfulness over me when I was ill in the autumn of 1881. But it was not till last summer that it began to give way, and even then she went about her usual good works, and was in her home all that she had used to be till after the second Sunday in Lent. Then she had to keep her room, but was still bright and cheerful, and we were in good hope that she was in a fair way to recover. Of all this I daresay our dear Sophy said less in her letters than she naturally would have done, if her Mother had not been adverse to having anything said which could be avoided about her health. . . . I

went down to Blackmoor in Passion Week (by her wish) thinking that she was going on well; but, just after I was gone, she caught cold, and from Easter Sunday her strength began to fail. I returned on Monday, and she never quite rallied, though on the day before her death (when all her children and others of the family received the Holy Communion with her) she seemed so much herself as to bring hope for a short time back again. Just after 7 P.M. on Friday last (10th April) she was taken away from us, suffering no pain, but passing away in great peace, all of us, and all her children except George Biddulph (who was not allowed to travel from Switzerland, where he is for his own health), being with her to the last. . . . I cannot tell you what our children have been to us, and our daughter-in-law, Maud, has not been behind any of them in constant loving and self-denying tenderness both to *her* and to myself. Many friends, from the Queen to not a few of the humblest and poorest, have comforted us by touching proofs of their sympathy, and of their appreciation of her whom we have lost. The Queen's letter to me (not of *Royal* kindness only, but of true, affectionate, womanly sympathy) I shall treasure as long as I live.—Believe me, ever your most affectionate friend, SELBORNE.

To CARINGTON FRANCIS, ESQ.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 16*th April* 1885.

I thank you heartily for your letter. You are among those who had very full opportunities of knowing my dear wife well,[1] and of knowing how dependent upon her (under God) I was for all my earthly help and comfort, except indeed that which I have in the love and tenderness of our dear children, whose characters she formed. In these early days of my bereavement, the very fulness of the heart helps to bring consolation, for she is still the centre of all my human feelings; and, if not visibly present, is so in another way. Doubtless, the heaviest part of my trial is yet to come, when I must return to the cares and ordinary duties of

[1] Mr. Carington Francis was for many years private secretary to Lord Selborne (when Sir Roundell Palmer) and filled the post of principal secretary to the Lord Chancellor in 1872-74.

this life without her to help me in them. But I trust in Him, with whom she now is, to be my Helper during the time, which must be short, for which this trial is appointed. The prayers of friends are among the means by which He will strengthen and comfort us.—Believe me, ever affectionately yours,

SELBORNE.

TO THE EARL OF SELBORNE

THURGARTON PRIORY,
SOUTHWELL, 16*th April* 1885.

MY DEAREST FATHER—It was very hard to go without saying good-bye yesterday. I did not know that you were going to the Cabinet. It is wonderful to me how you have been enabled to show us all such an example of Christian strength. The help it has been to every one is inexpressible, to no one more than my dear Lolly, who would break down any moment at the thought how she could get on without dear Mother. She was always so very much to her, and their work and interests are so much the same, that we shall miss the wise, loving counsels of her experience now, more than any of the good workers who have rested so much upon her. And yet what of us? The Queen's letter said better than I can how little any of our great losses is to yours. She was always so proud and happy in thinking and talking of you: I do not think any one can ever have been happier. She didn't want to go, dear Mother, but I believe her chief care was that you would need her to take care of you.

I hope these dreadful Cabinets will let you have a few days at Blackmoor; all was so happy and peaceful there.

We have all learnt so much from you that I must thank you with all my heart, and then—Peace be still!—Your loving son,

GEORGE SOUTHWELL.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 17*th April* 1885.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP—I thank you very much for your kind and comforting letter.

I know you and Mrs. Benson so well, through my daughter and son-in-law, as to regard you both (apart from your office in

the Church, and the respect which I feel for you in all your public relations) as private friends.

You have known great sorrows, and the power of Him who sends them to give strength according to our need. May I ask you to pray that I may receive that strength, the need of which will, probably, be greater from day to day as time goes on.

To this heavy private affliction is added the weight of public dangers and calamities, which seem to come upon us one after another in a mysterious way. What may be the Divine purpose in them we cannot tell; but in our hearts, at all events, we ought all to sit in sackcloth and ashes till it pleases Him who governs all things to show us light.—Believe me, ever my dear Lord, your Grace's grateful and obedient servant, SELBORNE.

CHAPTER XXIX

MR. GLADSTONE'S RESIGNATION — BISHOP MOBERLY — STATE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY — GENERAL ELECTION OF 1885.

1885

THE desolation which had fallen upon my life was not mitigated by any comfort from the state of public affairs. It was a relief to me, personally, when a vote of the House of Commons on Mr. Childers' financial proposals, on the 9th of June 1885, led to the resignation of the Government. But on public grounds, no step more unwise, or of less Conservative tendency, could have been taken. The Budget proposals which were made the pretext for it were, to say the least, harmless: what really placed the Government in a minority was the unpopularity of the proceedings in Egypt and the Soudan, together with the hostility of the Irish Home Rulers to any renewal, general or partial, of the Crimes Act of 1882, which (unless renewed) was about to expire. The Government had avowed its intention to ask Parliament before the close of the session to continue, not the whole Act, but those parts of it which had been

found in practice to be most necessary and useful; especially the provisions against intimidation, and for giving magistrates, in cases of that kind, summary jurisdiction. A true Conservative policy would have recognised the importance to any future Government of keeping the existing ministry in office until this, at all events, was done. But the Conservative Opposition of 1885 caught at the first opportunity for a party victory, regardless of consequences; and repeated, with their eyes open, the error committed in 1880, when Lord Beaconsfield dissolved Parliament at a time which made the renewal of the Irish Peace Preservation Act, then in force and about to expire, impossible. Some of them went farther, and appeared to give countenance to attacks made by Mr. Parnell's followers upon Lord Spencer's Irish administration, with reference particularly to one of the most atrocious cases of murder[1] ever known, the perpetrators of which had been convicted, and three of them executed. For these errors it was no excuse that the Nemesis which followed them was not foreseen. No one could doubt that if the Budget proposals were defeated there would be a change of Government, or that there were at least some members of the Administration to whom, in the actual position of affairs, such a change would not be unwelcome.

Between Lord Salisbury's accession to office and the dissolution of Parliament in the autumn there was a pause, during which I sought such refreshment as change of scene could afford, in an excursion with my

[1] The Maamtrasna murders of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs.

daughter Sophia to Italy. It was in Siena that I began the first part of these *Memorials*.

To the Archdeacon of Oxford (Palmer)

30 Portland Place, 14*th June* 1885.

You are right in supposing that it is a relief to me, personally, that I shall no longer be responsible for the conduct of affairs, carried on under conditions in which I had ceased to feel any satisfaction.

Nevertheless, I think it unfortunate that *the present time* should have been chosen for an attack by the Opposition, which will place the new Government in a much less favourable position for doing their duty according to their own view of it, and obtaining that degree of support which fair men are disposed to give, under certain circumstances, even to those who do not possess their political confidence, than if we had fallen to pieces through our own weakness, and inability to agree with each other.

What I now fear is that the extreme Radicals will use Gladstone's name (as they are already doing) unscrupulously; and endeavour (not for *his* honour, but for their own ends) to persuade him once more to give up his long-formed and often-announced resolution of retiring from the Leadership in the House of Commons. Should he consent to be their instrument, I shall deplore it, both for the country's sake, and for his own.—Believe me, ever yours most affectionately, Selborne.

To the Earl of Selborne

Heath Farm, *Sunday*, 19*th July* 1885.

My dear Lord—Always to me "Lord Chancellor." I cannot fancy any one filling the place so nobly as you did. I feel that you are pleased that I have obtained the seal of success

which I wanted.[1] I worked hard for it after the ways of ordinary hard-working men. But what trifling compared with what I saw of your single-minded, conscientious labour!

I have felt uneasy until I wrote to you these strong expressions of earnest admiration.—Believe me, very faithfully yours, M. BALIOL BRETT, M.R.

TO GOLDWIN SMITH, Esq.

SIENA, *27th August* 1885.

MY DEAR GOLDWIN—Your welcome and affectionate letter reached me a month ago, just as I was starting, with my only unmarried child (my daughter Sophia), for a two months' change in Italy. We have been in Siena—a most interesting place, full of treasures of art—for three weeks, and are now leaving it for Perugia, where we mean to stay about as long. Then I hope to pay a flying visit to Rome, to see my brother William's grave, and to be at Blackmoor early in October.

I knew, and well understood, your regard for, and appreciation of my dear wife, from the very day of our marriage. Therefore I know you will understand, without words, that my own ties to life are very much loosened; and that I consider my vocation now to be to prepare for leaving it. The love which so long sustained and helped me, the wisdom which brought up our children . . . . . and the unwearied, undemonstrative activity in all sorts of good works for the benefit of others, seem to be with me still, teaching me patience and hope, though now removed beyond our sight into the sphere to which the best and immortal part of us naturally belongs.

You are right in thinking, that the termination of my official life, which followed so soon afterwards, is a thing at which I do not repine. I call it *termination*, because I am content that it should be so, unless the progress of public affairs should take a very different turn from any which I can anticipate; and, even in so unexpected a contingency, I shall be perfectly satisfied if others consider the time to have come for younger men. I

[1] Mastership of the Rolls.

concur heartily in what you say about the present state of our politics; the utter sacrifice of national interests to party considerations, of which some men on both sides seem capable, fills me with alarm, and, I may say, indignation. I am happy to be able to assure you that the late Government would (if the Opposition had not defeated it at a critical moment) have either broken up, or have parted with those of its members who seemed incapable of appreciating the first duties of a Government as to Ireland, rather than omit to renew the important provisions of the Crimes Act. There are, however, persons who also seem incapable of learning anything from any amount of experience. . . .—Believe me, ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

To Archdeacon of Oxford

SIENA, 13*th August* 1885.

. . . At Florence we went through the Uffizi and Pitti Collections, and there I thought much of you. It seemed as if it were yesterday, and you were standing by my side, in the flower (you) of youth and I of manhood. It was a healing time to me; and I thank God for His gracious dealings with me, and with you also, then and since. Siena is quite new to me; a city climbing the crests of a cluster of hilly ridges; cathedral of black and white marble, not large, but a perfect gem of art,—the west front superb in its beauty and richness of architectural and sculptural decoration, *the floor* paved with mosaic pictures of Scriptural subjects, in black and white, by *Beccafiume* (one of the best Siennese artists); and I have seldom seen freer, more graceful, or altogether finer designs. They are well preserved and cared for. The position of the cathedral, on the top of a hill, with a high, graceful campanile, a well-proportioned (though not high) dome—grouping, as it does, with another conspicuous and picturesque tower of the neighbouring Palazzo Publico—is very striking when seen from the opposite height.

I ought not to have omitted to tell you that I was immensely interested, at Turin, with the *Egyptian* museum, which I believe Egyptologians consider the best in Europe, and which certainly seemed to me to have finer and better things in it than I have seen

elsewhere. One statue (they say of Rameses II.), in black marble or porphyry, not very much above the natural size, and representing him as a beardless young man, seemed to me to approach in beauty (as far as the head and face—extremely handsome and expressive—are concerned) the style and execution of first-rate Greek sculpture.

At Florence I changed my mind about the Venus dei Medici. You know I used to hate Venuses in general! But I could not help, this time, thinking that *this statue* deserved the admiration it has received. I am not sure whether the *head* is ancient or not. It struck me as remarkably beautiful. I was also very much struck with two pictures by Ghirlandajo (now in the room next the Tribune), which I do not remember having formerly noticed. The subjects are connected with the funeral of some bishop (San Zenobio) in a time of plague. The richness and harmony of colour, and skill in the composition, which brings in many figures and heads without confusion, are admirable; and the portraiture of the heads is wonderfully fine and expressive.

To Sister Emily

20th August 1885.

This is a glorious place for Italian art, of what I have always thought its best period; that of the century before Raffaelle, down to *his* masters, and his own early manner. There are no works of his here: but, both in the Churches, and in the public gallery, many most interesting pictures by first-rate artists, and by Pinturrichio, whose page-boy he was before he began to paint. In the neighbourhood (20 miles off) is an old Benedictine Convent, to which we made a long expedition yesterday, where there are also (in fair preservation) some most interesting frescoes, by the best Siennese artists, and by the Florentine, Luca Signorelli. . . .

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

Siena, *24th August* 1885.

If you were a Greek scholar, and could read the poet Pindar, you would know, that "Water is of all things best"—with

which sentiment his first Ode begins. I have been drinking coffee or chocolate, diluted brandy, and the wine of the country; in all of which is water, and I am not yet poisoned! To say truth, the water here is really very good, pure, and wholesome: and I must entreat you to dismiss from your mind all fears about it; especially as it is not, and never has been, my habit to drink water only. . . .

I do not think I have much more to tell you than you have already heard, about this place and its neighbourhood. Sophy, no doubt, has told you about our *second* long expedition, to a place called "St. Gemignano"; where we saw a very fine fresco by Ghirlandajo, and a most interesting series of fresco pictures, in illustration of the life of St. Augustine, by Benozzo Gozzoli.—Ever your affectionate father, SELBORNE.

Two men whom I greatly esteemed were removed from the world at this time,—Bishop Moberly and Lord Halifax, of whom I have already spoken.

My friendship with Bishop Moberly was of fifty years' standing. He was a man of keen, critical, fastidious taste and intellect; well learned in all that he knew, with a precision and exactness, tempered with sweetness of voice and articulation, which agreed well with the character of his mind. He had quick discernment and strong affections, and was never thrown off his balance by success; of which, as well as of domestic happiness, he had a large share. He took a strong interest in the religious questions of his day; and, having hired (while at Winchester) a farm near Hursley, he formed a close intimacy with Mr. Keble, and was much influenced by his judgment. He had the good

fortune, after an unusually long headmastership at Winchester, and after some fluctuations of prosperity and adversity, to leave the school in greater repute and prosperity, than at the beginning of his time. Hard work for many years told upon him before he was made a Bishop, and it was perhaps unavoidable that his episcopal rule should be gentle and paternal, rather than very strenuous. But at Salisbury as well as Winchester he was much beloved, and his name will long be held in honour there, and by the Church at large.

The dissolution of the Gladstone Cabinet set all its members at liberty to speak and act as they chose. Those who, after Bright's retirement, represented in it the left wing of the Liberal party made full use of that freedom; and some were supposed to give encouragement to a "Radical Programme," which dealt in a very drastic way with the House of Lords, the Established Churches, taxation, socialism, and other great subjects. The political organisation which had been established throughout the country in the Liberal interest, with Gladstone's approval, was to a great extent under Radical direction; and it was used to influence the choice of Liberal candidates for the coming election, so as to prevent, wherever it was possible, the acceptance of any who would not pledge themselves to Disestablishment. Lord Hartington, if Gladstone had then retired, would have been his natural successor. He, as was well known, preferred making the best of our inherited institutions, and

correcting whatever might be amiss in them by reasonable reforms, to breaking them up or sweeping them away. Clear and firm declarations in that sense from him and those who thought like him, at that juncture, might have been of great public service, and would have commanded the approval and confidence, not only of a large body of neutrals, but of almost all Liberals of the old constitutional type. Nor do I think that such declarations would have been wanting, if Lord Hartington had been the recognised leader of the party. But, until the course which Gladstone would take was known, it was difficult for him to speak freely as he thought.

Mr. Gladstone wanted only six months to complete his 76th year. His desire and intention to retire, and to end his days in the rest to which he was well entitled, had been often and long declared, and the time for fulfilling it seemed to have come. I was myself so fully persuaded of his sincerity in this respect, that, in writing to Lord Northbrook on the 24th of December 1884, I treated his approaching retirement as certain, and as an important element in the prospects of the Egyptian Question. He had been long in power, and had done enough to satisfy any not inordinate ambition. Many things had happened during his recent tenure of office which might have made a younger man weary of it. He had declined the offer of an earldom, which the Queen made him: but he might prefer to die, as he had lived, a great Commoner, without ceasing to wish for rest from public cares and strife.

Whether he knew his own mind less than I and others supposed, or by what arguments he was prevailed upon to relinquish his purpose, I cannot tell; but it is certain, that those who approached him (whoever they were) found no difficulty in persuading him to go on, and that the idea of retirement was finally and for ever abandoned. It was impossible to suppose that he was in agreement with the "Radical Programme": but he took up, practically, a neutral attitude with respect to it, so shutting the mouths of those who, if they had the responsibility of leadership, might have preferred a more decided course. This was, in effect, the "umbrella" policy, advocated at Edinburgh by Lord Rosebery, — a policy convenient for attack, but very bad for defence; *tu pulsas, ego vapulo.* It was, no doubt, urged upon Gladstone by two sorts of men;—by Liberals in whose ideas there was no Conservative element; and by the mere slaves of party, whose only political principle was the return of a majority to Parliament, who—whatever might be their opinions on any other subject—would combine to turn out the Tories.

I was in Italy when I read Gladstone's Address of the 17th September 1885 to the electors of Midlothian,—a pamphlet of more than twenty pages. I did so with more perplexity than comfort. Its programme, as to the subjects which it treated as ripe for legislation (what was afterwards called the "authorised," as distinguished from the Radical or "unauthorised" Programme), contained nothing

to excite party enthusiasm, nothing requiring for its management the hand of a veteran, nothing indicative of any powerful motive for the relinquishment of a settled purpose. But with this, and with the explanation and defence of the acts of his own Government, he was not content. He went on to touch in a vague, misty, facing-both-ways fashion, on the great questions of the House of Lords, the Established Church, and Education, treating them as in the background of politics, and belonging "to a future which, according to all expectation, lay beyond his reach," and not committing himself to any definite opinion, or offering anything like clear guidance to others, about any of them. As to Ireland, he was enigmatical and obscure,—stating "the main question" to be, "whether it was for the interests of all the three countries that the thorough and enduring harmony which had been long established between England and Scotland should include Ireland also?"—and, as his "personal answer," consigning to the malediction of posterity the name and memory of every man, English or Irish, who, "having the power to aid in an equitable settlement between Ireland and Great Britain, should use that power not to aid but to prevent or to retard it." As to the nature of the settlement which he might think "equitable" (if he had one in his mind), he gave no light, except by speaking of "a liberal interpretation and application of the principles traditionally held dear by the people of Great Britain, with respect to those powers of local self-government

which associate the people, in act and feeling, with the law, and which he believed to lie at the root of political stability, of the harmony of classes, and of national strength."

Reading nothing then within the lines of this Address, I drew from it the wrong inference, that Gladstone's retirement was only postponed; and that, practically, he was smoothing the way for others, whose opinions were more Radical than his own.

The action of the Radical wirepullers was successful in many places in imposing upon Liberal candidates pledges in favour of Disestablishment, and making acquiescence or inaction on the part of those who cared more for the Church than for party impossible. Lord Grey, from his retirement at Howick, venerable for his age as well as for his public services, took the lead in framing and obtaining signatures to a declaration by Liberal peers and others, intended to put Liberal Churchmen upon their guard against being outwitted by these tactics of their opponents. It was signed by himself and eighteen[1] others, of whom I was one, and published in the newspapers. I was asked for advice, from more than one quarter, as to the course which, under these circumstances, Liberal Churchmen ought to

[1] By the Dukes of Westminster, Bedford, and Somerset; Earls Fitzwilliam, Devon, Fortescue, and Ducie; Lords de Tabley, Crewe, Ebury, Halifax (C. L. Wood), Penzance, and Mount Temple: Messrs. J. C. Dundas, G. Harwood, E. P. Bouverie, and Thomas Hughes; and by myself. It appeared in the *Times* of 4th November 1885.

take; and the following answer, which I gave (on the 5th November 1885) to one of those who so consulted me, was made public:—

SIR—I cannot presume to judge of other men's duty on the subject of the votes which they may give at the coming general election, from interference in which I am precluded by a Resolution of the House of Commons. Nor am I prepared, apart from that consideration, to say that any question, however important, ought to be made everywhere the sole test, without reference to the character, conduct, services, and personal merits or demerits, of the candidates. If I had to vote myself, I should certainly consider the maintenance of the Established Church as of much greater importance than the predominance of my own, or the defeat of any other, political party: and I should be very slow to acknowledge the claim of any man to be considered "Liberal," who might endeavour to recommend himself by promising to vote for taking away from about half of his fellow-countrymen the churches in which they worship, and the support provided for the ministers of their religion.

Gladstone was not pleased; though I do not think it impossible that Lord Grey's declaration may have helped to elicit from him, in a speech which he made on the 11th of November at Edinburgh, some words more adverse to the views of the extreme "Liberationists," than any which he had before spoken:—"Many of those who talk about Disestablishment in England, I think, know very little of the subject they are writing about. They frame plans of Disestablishment,—plans utterly impossible to be entertained either at the present or at any other time. I speak of a plan which has appeared in a work called the *Radical Programme*." However this might be, he wrote to me to express his dis-

satisfaction on the 14th of November; speaking of himself as having been engaged in resisting attempts to make Disestablishment a test question among Liberals, by proscribing in Scotland the enemy of Disestablishment, in England the friend; and inviting from me some explanation of my signature to the Grey declaration, and of the letter to my Manchester correspondent, which had appeared in the *Times* of the 13th November. He was perplexed by my letter. He did not wish to accelerate a rupture in the Liberal party (if it was to come, as perhaps before many years it might) upon that question.

I answered him on the 17th of November:—

I received your letter of the 14th yesterday. I am afraid my answer to it cannot be short. You will have seen that my reply to the Manchester gentleman who consulted me was written before I could have seen what you said at Edinburgh; and my signature to Lord Grey's paper was still earlier. I had no information of your views and intentions, beyond that contained in your Address to the Electors of Midlothian. So far as personal considerations went, I should have preferred to remain silent; but, when asked to sign Lord Grey's paper, and having either to answer or to leave unanswered a letter addressed to me in good faith by a gentleman sharing my opinions, I thought it wrong to permit myself to be governed by personal considerations.

You cannot have read me rightly, if you have understood me to imply, that "every Liberal who votes for Disestablishment" should be excluded from Parliament, so far as the votes of those who are opposed to Disestablishment can exclude him. I declined to lay down any such proposition: saying, that in each particular case other things also ought to be considered; and specifying character, conduct, services, personal merits or demerits. I should myself, *e.g.*, if I had a vote for his division of Birmingham, vote for Bright, on account of his great public

services and noble character; although he is (as he has always been) for Disestablishment. What I did say, and must abide by, is to this effect,—that, as between mere party, and such a great national interest as I conceive the maintenance of the Established Church to be, the national interest ought to be preferred; and, further, that I regarded as illiberal, and not liberal, any promise to support a measure of Disestablishment having the features which I described, and which I found in the only definite scheme yet propounded,—the scheme put forward and supported by the whole influence of that Society, which is the actual motive power of the entire question. The fact, that these propositions might be reversed, notwithstanding the difference between the conditions of assault and those of defence by persons who look at the question from an exactly opposite point of view, cannot (as I think) be a reason, why one who is convinced of their truth and importance should not state them. As to the practical conclusion, in each particular case, I thought that every elector ought to judge for himself, after taking into account *all* material considerations. If you press me as to the legitimate consequence of the opinion which I expressed, in a case in which there might be nothing substantial to modify the decision, beyond party on the one side and Church defence on the other, it would certainly follow that, if I had a vote to give, I should not, under such circumstances, give it to a "Disestablisher," in the sense in which I understand that word.

I am, of course, sorry to have caused you any perplexity; but I am encouraged by your saying so to state what, on the other hand, perplexes me. I must necessarily do so from my own point of view; which is, that the Disestablishment of the Established Churches of Great Britain, upon any scheme which I am able to conceive as within the possibilities of practical politics, would be a revolution, injurious to the members of those Churches, and disastrous to the public interest. It has been stated publicly, without (as far as I know) denial, that at a very early stage of the present electioneering campaign,—I think, though I am not quite sure, before your Midlothian Address,—pledges in favour of Disestablishment had been exacted (I presume by the local organisations which have assumed the power of selecting Liberal candidates) from a number of candidates

professedly Liberal, so great that, if they succeeded in all the places for which they stood, the practical result would be a House of Commons pledged to Disestablishment. What perplexes me is, that you should think,—if you do think,—this position the same as that which existed before the late change of Government; or that it would be right and consistent for those who see the importance and the probable consequences of that measure in the light that I do, to give the help of their votes and influence towards the constitution of such a House of Commons. I say nothing about the case of a man who, whatever his opinion upon the question may be, is ready to promise not to vote for Bill or resolution in favour of Disestablishment during the Parliament about to be elected. I should not expect that many, who had before pledged themselves, would give a promise of that sort; but of this, and of the value of such a security, each man must judge for himself. I am not, for one, persuaded that it would be of much substantial value (especially rememberng what I alluded to before, the difference between the conditions of assault and those of defence) if it left the pledge suspended as to time, but still in force as to substance, and the persons who gave it still at liberty to use their whole influence, in every other way than by an immediate vote in the House of Commons (and particularly by public advocacy of the measure), to consolidate their power for a future, and perhaps not long deferred, attack. Let me, for illustration's sake, transfer the question from Disestablishment to that of a single uncontrolled and unchecked Legislative Chamber, or of formal as well as virtual Republicanism. Ought a statesman who thought those measures not revolutionary only, but dangerous to liberty and to the public welfare, to assist towards constituting a House of Commons full of their supporters, upon the terms of a temporary truce, founded upon a (real or supposed) present agreement for some temporary purpose of all who called themselves by a common party name? I cannot think so.

You will see that I do not look upon the facts, as to the state of the question, or as to the persons responsible for making it what it is, as you appear to do. It is not an agreeable thing to refer to the speeches which those members of the late Cabinet whom you name (and they do not stand alone) have made, *since*

your Midlothian Address, upon this and other subjects. They appear to me to constitute quite a new departure in politics. There have been two divergent voices, one from the present accepted leader, another from those who seem to aspire to the succession. I do not see how one's own view can possibly be limited to a single,—very possibly a short Parliament, though you or I may not survive it.

His reply, on the 19th of November, was short, adding nothing, in substance, to what he had written before, except that he said, as far as he knew, the attempt to use the Church as a test question in England had been entirely on the side of the Tories and the Church. This I could not leave without observation; so I wrote again, on the 21st:—

I am obliged to say, that my belief, founded not only upon the inferences which I think it legitimate to draw from the facts mentioned in my former letter, but upon facts within my personal knowledge, is directly the reverse. It is within my personal knowledge that local organisations, taking upon themselves to represent the Liberal party in the choice of Liberal candidates, did apply the Disestablishment test as a condition *sine quâ non* for the acceptance of any such candidate, where they had the power, before either Tories or Church had made any stir about the matter. They did so, for instance, in four different places, to my own son, when (after Coventry had lost its second member) he was in search of a constituency: and in all four places, though he had been a popular candidate at Coventry, he was set aside, solely because he declined to give the pledge to vote for Disestablishment, which was the very first thing required of him. I do not believe this to have been in any way an exceptional case.

One more letter from Gladstone (of the 24th November) closed the correspondence. He thought we had been using the phrase, "test question," in different senses. He regarded what I mentioned as

no more than the practice, which had always prevailed, of local leaders choosing candidates according to the colour of the constituency. A test question for the purpose of the votes of individual electors was a different thing. He ended by expressing, with much kindness of tone, his regret that I should have thought it my duty, after our long connection, to take upon this matter a line opposite to his own.

I appreciated the considerateness of Gladstone's tone towards myself personally; but he failed to persuade me that there was nothing new, on this side of the Atlantic, in the action of "caucuses" formulating test questions for candidates under an organised central influence; or to make me understand how the responsibility for the introduction of Disestablishment, as such a test question, could reasonably be imputed to those who were really defending themselves against its use for that purpose by Disestablishers in a stage of electioneering earlier indeed than the canvass or the poll, but practically conclusive in most boroughs where Liberals were a majority, unless it could be resisted in an independent spirit by those who cared for their Church.

The elections were by this time in progress. The borough of Petersfield, which had until then a separate representation, gave its name to the new constituency of the Eastern Division of Hampshire, in which Blackmoor was included. My son had accepted an invitation to stand for it as the Liberal candidate, and went through the necessary canvass with great spirit, making himself generally popular. He was elected on

the 3rd of December; his opponent being a neighbour[1] with whom we were on friendly terms, until then Liberal member for Petersfield, whose confidence in the Liberal leaders had ceased, and had been transferred to the Conservative party. The general result of the elections was, that the Liberals, of all shades of opinion taken together, without reckoning the Irish Home Rulers, were in a majority of eighty-four; but there were eighty-six Irish Home Rulers,[2] who, if they at any time gave a solid vote with the Conservatives, might just turn the scale. This was a state of things which Gladstone, during the elections, had deprecated.[3] Rumours, resting on no substantial foundation, were afloat, which led him to believe that the Conservative Government would not be indisposed to conciliate the Home Rulers; and it was reported (truly or otherwise) that the Irish vote had generally been given in English constituencies to Conservative candidates. This made the prospects of both parties uncertain and precarious; and, happen what might, it was not likely that a Parliament so constituted would last long.

It was, perhaps, the most remarkable feature of the English elections of 1885, that the County Divisions (in which the Liberal gain was greater, upon the whole, than in the cities and boroughs) were invaded in many instances with success by

[1] Mr. William Nicholson, of Basing Park.

[2] Eighty-five returned by Irish constituencies, and one by the Scotland Division of Liverpool.

[3] Speech at Edinburgh, 9th November 1885.

candidates having no local connection with them, and without any established public reputation. This was rendered possible, not only by the disposition of the new class of voters to listen to adventurers or theorists who professed to have their special interests at heart and to know how to promote them, but by the successful working of the measure which Sir Henry James had carried through Parliament in 1883, for putting an end to corrupt practices at elections and limiting their expense. The cost of a contest for almost any seat in Great Britain was now, for the first time, brought within the reach of men of moderate means, or of no means at all if they represented any cause in aid of which a subscription could be raised. Not a few such men were preferred, in counties where territorial influence had been strong, to unexceptionable representatives of the landed interest. One conspicuous example was Mr. Joseph Arch, the founder of the Agricultural Labourers' Union; who was elected, by a majority of more than 600 over the Duke of Portland's brother, for one of the divisions of Norfolk.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, 10*th December* 1885.

. . . You will know, long before you get this, the general results of our Election, and, among other things, that my son is now M.P., to our great satisfaction. His majority was not great; but he fought the contest most honourably and creditably, without any personal canvass, and as a declared supporter of the Church. On one or two points I should have preferred his being more reserved than he was in forming and stating

his opinions, but they are not points to which I myself attribute essential importance.

The position, resulting from so large a "Liberal" majority (if all are to be reckoned Liberals who so call themselves) over the Conservatives, with a power in the Parnellites at any time to turn the scale in a mere party division, is very critical, and will certainly demand, from all who prefer their country to party, some exercise of the qualities both of disinterestedness and of independence. How much of these qualities shall we find? Till I know what Gladstone's intentions are (and I am now less than ever in his confidence, for a reason which I will tell you) I cannot say. I have not, as yet, seen any trustworthy analysis or classification of the Liberal returns, but I think it will prove that Chamberlain's extremists are in a decided minority, and the no small proportion of the *county* returns (which have turned the scale) are of moderate and patriotic men. Even Dilke is now against any factious opposition to the present, or any other Government, and I cannot doubt that such men as Goschen, Foster, etc., will do the same. So I fully expect that Lord Salisbury will go on till the summer at all events; and what I expect I hope. But his position is not to be envied.

More eminent men (on the Liberal side especially) have lost their seats in this election than I ever before remember. Foremost among them are Childers, Herschell, and George Lefevre. I am, of course, sorry for them all; but, as to G. L., I must think that he has done more than he ought to bring it on himself by throwing himself into the ranks of the Extreme Left. It is, I think, quite certain that, to Chamberlain's "Radical Programme" (of which I fear G. L. would be a supporter) is due the defeat, not only of violent men and Disestablishment men in many places, but also of some excellent and really liberal men, neither violent nor "Disestablishers," who were opposed without mercy as belonging to the same party with those who were so. Childers and Lord Northbrook's son, and a good many more whom I know, declared themselves very positively against Disestablishment, but the clergy, nevertheless, treated them as badly as if they had done the reverse; even my own boy experienced much the same treatment. The suggestion was, "Oh! he is, no doubt, himself now against it, but

when the time comes for it to be taken up by his party, he will not be able to help voting with his party."

Upon myself, personally, this was hard enough, not only because I gave some proof in 1868 that I did not prefer my party to my Church, but because I had thought myself bound, during this very election, to speak out on the same point, and expressly to say that I thought the maintenance of the Established Church of much more importance than any party interest; so necessarily implying that I proposed offending my party and its leaders to any compromise, or even silence, on that point. This I did in two ways: first, by signing, at Lord Grey's instance, a paper protesting against the attempts made to pledge Liberal candidates to Disestablishment, which he had originated, and which the Dukes of Westminster and Bedford, and Charles Wood, and several others also signed; and secondly, by sending to a Manchester elector, who asked for my opinion, an answer, which he published in the newspapers. . . .—Ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

TO LORD TENNYSON

33 GROSVENOR ROAD, WESTMINSTER,
15*th December* 1885.

Pray accept my best thanks for your "Tiresias" volume, from reading which I expect great pleasure: but, having been here on business ever since it came, I have not yet been able to do more than just look at it. I was very pleased by your verses to the Duke of Argyll: who is worthy of such a recognition of the real patriotism and public spirit of which he is a conspicuous example, in days when those qualities seem to be rarer than they used to be. Let me also say, that I read with great satisfaction your letter just published in the newspapers (in defence of the Church). As for the political outlook, it is perplexing, and I do not pretend to be a prophet. But I am inclined for once to agree with Sir Charles Dilke, that the situation is one in which, despite all that our friend at Hawarden has been saying, or can say, mere party will and ought to count far less than it has done hitherto. This (Dilke's) reason for being content to see that bond relaxed is probably the reverse of mine; each of us, perhaps, is biassed

in his opinion by his wishes: but my wishes are, that men's *real* opinions, all round, should be understood and acted upon, so that (if we are to fight for what we hold most precious and most sacred) we may not fight in mist and darkness, or with our hands tied behind our backs, but ἐν φάει knowing what we do. —Believe me ever yours most truly, SELBORNE.

CHAPTER XXX

MR. GLADSTONE'S NEW IRISH POLICY—FORMATION OF HIS THIRD ADMINISTRATION—HIS BILLS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

1885–1886

SOON after the results of the elections were known, the country was startled by a sudden announcement in certain newspapers that Mr. Gladstone had made up his mind to give the Irish Nationalists the "Home Rule" which they desired, retaining their representatives at the same time in the British Parliament, and that Lord Spencer had been "won over" to this policy. There were faint disavowals; but before long it came to be understood that the announcement, although it might not have been authorised in the precise form in which it appeared, was substantially true. Whether any of Mr. Gladstone's former colleagues, except Lord Spencer and Lord Granville, were taken into his confidence before that resolution was formed, I do not know; I certainly was not. It had been usual, when far less important questions of public or party policy had to be considered, to hold something like a consultation between all the members

of the party who had sat in the last Cabinet, or such of them as could be brought together for the purpose; and nothing but the consciousness that so violent a change as that contemplated would encounter formidable opposition which might make its accomplishment impossible could explain why, in this instance, the usual course was not followed. Gladstone, in a pamphlet[1] published after the elections in the following year, told the world that the idea had been for fifteen years germinating in his mind. No word, indeed, fell from his lips in public (nor, as far as I know, in private) from which the most sagacious of his political friends could have divined more than that he was liberally disposed towards Ireland, as to local government as well as other questions. The immediate causes of his sudden change of front were the elections of 1885, and his belief that the Conservative Government meditated something of the same kind. But I have never myself doubted that, on this as well as other occasions, the motives which had most influence upon his conduct—right or wrong, wise or unwise—were higher and more honourable than those of mere personal ambition. The success of the series of measures which he had devised and carried for Ireland, from the Church Act of 1869 to the Land Act of 1881 and the Arrears Act of 1882, had fallen very far short of his hope and expectation. His impatient spirit could not wait for their fruits to ripen by any slow process, especially with his political

[1] *The Irish Question: History of an Idea: Lessons of the Election* (Murray, 1886).

adversaries in power; his distaste for coercive measures was greater than his respect for law or his appreciation of the necessity of a firm and steady government by law for the equal enjoyment of private rights and liberties. The sands of his life (to use a metaphor of his own) were fast running out; whatever there might be still to do must be done quickly. "The time," especially in Ireland, "was out of joint"; he was "born to set it right," and (unlike Hamlet)[1] he liked the task. When he determined to run any great risk in politics it was not in his nature to feel doubt or misgiving; if one experiment failed he was so much the readier for another, and was prepared to double the stake at each cast of the die. It is to this state of mind that I trace his new departure in politics at the age of seventy-six, a departure not new as to Ireland only but, as it proved in the sequel, as to many other questions also.

The first authentic information which I received on this subject was from Lord Northbrook, who had been at Althorp, and had heard all that Lord Spencer was at liberty to tell him. He wrote to me on the 23rd December 1885, enclosing a paper in which he set down the impressions made upon him, and desired to know my thoughts. I gave them in the form of the following memorandum,[2] which (with my consent) he showed to Lord Spencer, through whom it also became known to Mr. Gladstone.

[1] *Hamlet*, Act i. Scene 5.

[2] Dated 28th December 1885. (I have omitted a few words referring to confidential conversations.)

28th December 1885.

MY DEAR NORTHBROOK—I must first wish you, and you all, good Christmas wishes, and thank you very much for your important paper. . . . I send you my own thoughts on the same subject, in the shape of a memorandum, in which I have abstained from reference to *persons* as far as I could.

I think, that those who have been parties to the Irish Legislation of the last sixteen years, and who until now have always seemed confident of its *eventual* success, will be in a strange position if they practically hand over it, and the classes affected by it, to Parnell and his friends, to do what they like with. I agree with Hartington (and I suppose also with those with whom he consulted), that whoever else may be able to do this, I cannot. The responsibility of stirring up the question just now, in the manner in which it has been done, is enormous; and I cannot but suspect that Gladstone is too anxious to mark the close of his life by what he enthusiastically takes up as *heroic* (but what may be to the country when he is gone, disastrous) projects of legislation; projects, the mere agitation of which by him may do infinite harm, whether he succeeds in carrying them or not.

You do not say what Granville and Rosebery think about this matter. I cannot help thinking, from his public declaration, that Lord Spencer's ultimate judgment may agree with my own.—Believe me, etc., SELBORNE.

Whatever else may be doubtful about any project for an Irish Parliament, I think three things are clear—first, that a constitutional change of that magnitude and moment cannot be accepted by any reasonable and conscientious politician on mere party grounds, or out of deference only to the authority of any political leader; secondly, that such a man ought not to be deterred by difficulties or fears from doing, in so great a matter, what he thinks necessary for the honour and safety of the country; and, thirdly, that if he thinks the honour and safety of the country might be dangerously compromised by such an experiment without proper safeguards, or because proper safe-

guards are impossible, he ought to oppose it to the utmost of his power.

If Ireland is to remain under the British Crown, it must surely be an indispensable condition of any concession of any form of "Home Rule," that there should be some real security for the lives, liberties, and properties of all the Queen's loyal subjects there, landlords as well as peasants, Protestants as well as Papists. To abandon the classes most attached to British connection, and leave them to the risk of confiscation and proscription by their avowed enemies, who have agitated for the dismemberment of the Empire by means of criminal outrage and anti-social persecutions, and who have systematically denounced the legal punishment even of ferocious murders as worse than those crimes themselves,—to do this, while maintaining the nominal supremacy of Great Britain, would be the lowest depth of dishonour. I would myself face any difficulty, or accept any possible alternative, rather than this. If there were a political necessity great enough to compel the choice, I should prefer a total and absolute separation; under which, if Ireland were oppressed or misgoverned, we should have no responsibility except for the act of separation itself; and should only have to guard ourselves against dangers from any foreign alliances of her rulers. The protection of life, liberty, and property, and the equal administration of justice, are the first duties of every Government;—it is better to have no authority at all than to pretend to it while declining those duties. No security for these indispensable objects could be found in any mere paper guarantees, or in any Royal *veto* upon the Acts of an Irish Parliament as to matters within its competency; not even if the power of *veto* were exercised on the advice of a British and not an Irish Ministry. Against any effective use of such a power there would be agitation and resistance, with the whole local administration of Ireland at its back; soon resulting in a deadlock, and (unless the Irish Parliament had its way) in rebellion. And to deal with such a rebellion (especially if encouraged by Foreign Powers to whom our humiliation might be acceptable) would be a very different thing from what it was in the last century. The principles which may now incline anybody to grant what the representatives of Ireland ask for that country

because they ask it, must infallibly lead to the practical nullification of any mere power of veto. I reject utterly the imagination that a sudden change might come over the temper, character, and designs of the dominant party, as soon as Ireland was surrendered into their hands,—that the wolf would lie down with the lamb, that feuds between Papists and Orangemen would cease, and that all the fierce denunciations of "landlordism" would be forgotten and bear no fruit. I cannot imagine any one entertaining such an idea, unless he were a man blinded by a fanatical optimism to the whole history of Ireland, and to all the lessons of experience. If faction-fighting, riot, or insurrection were provoked among the now loyal population of Ulster by the domination of a "Nationalist" Parliament, British troops would be called upon to put it down.

As for getting out of the difficulty by the State buying out all the landlords in Ireland who might not be willing to take their chance, a few words will suffice. Why should they be put to the alternative of expatriation or robbery? At what price are they to be bought out, and on what principles is that price to be ascertained? Is it to be at a depreciation of the marketable value of the property produced by our own legislation, culminating in this new Revolution? And who is to pay? If Ireland, is she to pay in securities, or in cash? If in securities, what will be their value under the new Government? If in cash, where is the money to come from? Or is the British nation to pay? Who believes that they would ever consent to do so?

What other guarantees or safeguards can be suggested? I can think of none, except the enactment by the Imperial legislature of conditions in the shape of fundamental laws, any change in which should be beyond the power of the Irish Parliament, even with the assent of the Crown, and competent to the Imperial Parliament only. Now, let it be considered what these must be, unless the safeguards to be afforded by them against confiscation, violence, and injustice are to be merely nominal and illusory; and then let it be considered whether they would be practicable, and how they would work.

(1) The power of the Irish Parliament to legislate concerning land-titles and land-tenures, and also to confiscate under colour

and pretence of special taxation, must be placed under definite restrictions, most difficult to conceive, much more to formulate, so as to prevent their evasion.

(2) There must be provision for the maintenance of an impartial and independent Judicature, nominated by the Crown, both in the Supreme and in the Local Courts.

(3) There must be enactments (permanent, and such as might, if necessary, be at the same time extended to England), against terrorism, and for the efficiency of the system of jury-trial, substantially identical with the intimidation and jury clauses of the late Crimes Act.

(4) There must be provisions for the maintenance of a sufficient Constabulary and Military Force in the hands of and disposable by the Crown; subject only to the control of the Courts in the ordinary course of the administration of justice. When I speak of the Crown, I mean the Imperial Government.

Let it be supposed that the difficulty of putting such fundamental laws as these into proper form, though great, could be overcome. They would still be open to three (as it seems to me) insuperable objections. First, it could not be denied that they would be at variance with the principle of legislation for local affairs by a Local Parliament, as exemplified in all the colonies (*e.g.* Canada), to which we have given such Parliaments. Next, it is certain that the "Home Rule" or "Nationalist" party would not assent to or acquiesce in them. And, lastly, if they were enacted, an Irish Parliament under the management of Mr. Parnell and his followers would occupy itself in nothing else but endeavours to get rid of them, and to prosecute still further their own separatist policy.

Therefore, it seems to me reasonably clear, that, in the present circumstances of Ireland, these or any similar conditions are not possible.

I now turn to another point, in which Great Britain and the British Empire are more directly concerned than Ireland. It would certainly be an argument of some practical weight in favour of "Home Rule" for Ireland, if its consequence were to eliminate from the British Parliament an incongruous element, the presence of which has been deteriorating, disturbing, and obstructive. But it seems to be contemplated that the

representation of Ireland in the British Parliament might continue as now, although a separate Parliament were established in Ireland for all Irish affairs. In this respect, Mr. T. P. O'Connor's scheme, who desires to take the Canadian constitution for a precedent, is much more reasonable. A scheme for giving to the Irish Parliament a *dual* existence,—exclusive of the British Parliament in Ireland, and as a constituent part of the British Parliament in Great Britain,—is, as far as I know, new and unprecedented: and, even if the representation for the two purposes were not identical, I should think it intolerable. Why should the representatives of Ireland, with "autonomy" at home, manage British or Imperial affairs, turn the balance of our parties, determine the fate of our Ministries, and have the power of paralysing British or Imperial legislation? If their control of Irish affairs were limited and conditional, their whole power and influence in the British Parliament would certainly be used to get rid of the limits, and defeat the conditions. If unconditional, I cannot imagine anything more monstrous than that the Union should be practically repealed *quoad* Ireland, and at the same time maintained as against Great Britain.

I must not omit to say something as to the ground alleged (or, rather, the occasion taken) for a new departure on this question—viz. the return of eighty-five Parnellites to the House of Commons by the votes (as it would seem) of some two-thirds of the whole Irish (voting) electorate,—figures which show how large the minority is which has a right to British protection, and how inadequately it is represented by its share of the members returned—to say nothing, one way or the other, of that one-fourth of the electorate, who did *not* vote. I demur altogether to the validity of such a ground for such legislation. The good government of Ireland, and her relations to Great Britain, are matters not of Irish only, but of Imperial concern: they are, indeed, of no less importance to Great Britain, than to Ireland. Why should a small fraction of the United Parliament have its will in such matters, unless the Union is regarded as already repealed? Where is to be the end, what are the limits, of such a principle? To what conditions is it subject? Why should it be conceded so far, and denied, if the next demand is,—as it is sure to be, if the principle is avowed,—for total separation and

absolute independence? The return of from eighty to eighty-five "Home Rulers" to the new Parliament is no unforeseen event. It was contemplated as practically certain when the questions of assimilating the Irish Franchise to the British, and of retaining undiminished the number of Irish representatives, were under discussion. The belief (which Lord Spencer shared) was, that even under the former franchises, and the former distribution of seats, the result would have been, within a very small number, the same. . . . If anybody then thought, that the concession of an Irish Parliament would be a necessary or just consequence of the return of eighty-five or any other number of Parnellites, nobody then said so. . . . Before the elections Mr. Parnell's recent *manifesto* was treated in all the speeches of leading Liberals on the subject,—at least all which I have seen,—not as expressing a view to which they had become, or were becoming, converts, but as widening the previous distance between Mr. Parnell and themselves. As for the passage about Ireland in Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian Address (in which Mr. John Morley says we ought all to have read an Irish Parliament between the lines), all possible pains were taken to persuade the country that the whole "programme" set forth in that address was one in which Liberals of all shades of opinion ought, and might be expected, to agree. A man would have been out of his senses, who thought that all Liberals would agree in setting up an Irish Parliament.—S.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 31*st December* 1885.

MY DEAR NORTHBROOK—You may certainly send my memorandum to Spencer to read. I can assure you that I am not insensible to the difficulties, which, however, are *in the main Parliamentary;* and even Parliament has never yet refused, on sufficient evidence of a real emergency, to grant such powers as the Executive has asked for. If we are coming to a time when choice must be made between party unity and the first duties of government, I cannot hesitate to prefer the latter.—Believe me, etc., SELBORNE.

Lord Northbrook agreed with me; and it shortly appeared that four other members of the late Cabinet,[1] and Sir Henry James, were, as to the practical question, of the same opinion.

When the new Parliament met on the 12th of January 1886, it was at once made clear that the Conservative Government had no intention of competing with Gladstone for Nationalist support. Those who were resolved not to surrender the government of Ireland into Mr. Parnell's hands were strong enough in that Parliament to keep the existing Ministry in power, if they chose to do so; and my own opinion was, that, under the actual circumstances, the existing Ministry ought not to be, and were not likely to be, displaced on any light or trivial grounds. When, therefore, on the 26th of January, a majority of seventy-nine supported Mr. Jesse Collings's amendment to the Address, expressing regret that no measure for facilitating allotments and the creation of small holdings for agricultural labourers was announced in the Speech from the Throne, I disapproved the vote, as precipitating a crisis which might prove dangerous to the State. The majority would, doubtless, have been larger, if there had not been many who shared my view. Some (of whom my son was one) who were new to Parliament, joined in that vote, partly because they sincerely desired to promote a good object in favour of which they had given pledges

[1] Lord Hartington, Lord Derby, Lord Carlingford, and Lord Monk-Bretton.

to their constituents, and partly because they thought there was a constitutional objection to government by a minority. But, however excellent Mr. Collings's object might be, it gave no legitimate occasion for a trial of party strength, though it was easily turned to that purpose; the less so, because the Conservative Government was not opposed to any fair and judicious legislation in the direction pointed at. To carry it against them, as an amendment to the Address, was a vote of want of confidence, the more emphatic because gratuitous. However, the thing was done; the vote extricated Lord Salisbury, who at once resigned, and Gladstone was again Prime Minister.

He wrote to me on the day after the division, before he was charged with the formation of the new Government, alluding to what had passed between us at the time of the elections as to (what he called) "a Church test," and to what he had learned of my opinions about Ireland; and expressing his reluctance to think of the dissolution of our old political connection, or to refrain from "asking himself, inwardly, whether he could again hope for my co-operation?" I replied[1]:—

I am obliged and gratified by your letter; because, although it is not possible for those who have stood in such relations as you and I have towards each other to part company without pain—on the part, at all events, of the junior in age, and the inferior in political standing and public influence—still that pain is softened when the opportunity for mutual explanation is given in the frank and generous way in which you have given it to me. All private reasons would have made me desirous of

[1] 28th January 1886.

resuming my former position; and I trust that nothing will ever lead me to misjudge your motives for any line of conduct you may think yourself obliged to pursue. I do, however, feel that the difficulties in the way of our future co-operation are likely to be insuperable.

If the practical question depended only upon confidence between you and myself, the difference which existed between us as to the line taken at the elections on the Church question would not have made co-operation on my part impossible, or even difficult, if it were not so on yours; because your own attitude on that question, if more neutral than I could have wished, was certainly not hostile to the Church. There would, therefore—as between us only—have been no difficulty, unless as to Ireland. On that subject, I infer from what you say, that you have seen a memorandum of mine which was in Lord Spencer's hands, to the *principles* of which I should beyond doubt adhere. I did not, indeed, and I do not (to use your words) intend to shut myself out from considering whether there are any practicable conditions which would warrant and recommend the creation by the State of an Irish legislative body for Irish affairs. But, if such a question were to be entertained, two conditions did and do appear to me to be absolutely indispensable—the one, in point of duty, honour, and justice; the other, in point of public policy—for the interests of Great Britain. The first of these was and is, the effective and adequate protection of the landlord class from oppression and robbery, a duty more especially incumbent, as it appears to me, on those who are responsible for the Irish legislation of the last seventeen years. This seemed to me, forming the best judgment I could, to be, under present circumstances, impracticable, if there were to be an Irish Parliament managing Irish affairs: but nevertheless, if this were a matter for discussion between you and me, upon the basis of a general agreement about it in principle, I should certainly not be justified in refusing to consider any solution which you might think possible, of difficulties which to me, at present, seem insoluble. The second indispensable condition, to my mind, would be the elimination of the Irish element from the British House of Commons, as soon as they had their own separate legislature for Irish affairs. On this point, I know nothing of your opinion

from yourself; but, from what I have heard, I suppose it to be different from mine. If so, as I think the point vital, the difference could not be overcome.

How far, if there had been a prospect of agreement between us on these points, it would be possible for me to regard the practical question as one depending only on mutual confidence between ourselves, without reference to the political views and present attitude of others who might have place and power in your Cabinet, is a question into which it is not necessary, and would probably be wrong, for me at present to enter. I cannot conclude, without heartily reciprocating what you have so kindly said about your personal feelings towards myself. If, as to these great matters, we should have to differ, the pain of that difference will certainly be increased to me by the unavoidable apprehension, that not the welfare of the country only (which must be, with both of us, the first consideration) but the estimation in which your public services may be hereafter held, will depend upon the result.

On the 30th of January, after receiving the Queen's commission, he wrote to me again, touching briefly upon the questions raised by my letter, and saying: "Of my wishes I need not further speak; but, after what I have said, you will be able to judge whether you can adopt the view taken in this letter." Before, however, that letter could reach me, I received from him a telegram, expressing a desire to see me; on which I went up immediately from Blackmoor to London, and saw him on the same day. Our conversation was very friendly; but the result was that I did not think the prospect of our agreement about Ireland sufficient to justify me in accepting a place in his Cabinet. If he could succeed in producing measures by which my difficulties might be overcome, I might be more useful to him out of office than in

it; if not, my duty would be to oppose him, which I could best do by retaining in the meantime my independence. We parted with expressions of affection and regret, but we parted, practically, for ever.

To Viscount Wolmer, M.P.

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 26th January 1886.

Mr. Picton's motion ought to be steadily resisted. There is no other cause or reason for it, than as a mere move in the game of attack upon the Church; and it would be the last degree of weakness to look at it in any other light. I think it, therefore, almost waste of time and of words to add, that there could be no greater absurdity (in any other point of view) than to propose an inquiry into matters of public history (the general facts of which are well known to all who care to know them, and the proper sources of information on which are accessible to all who are capable of understanding them, and disposed to see them honestly) by a Committee of the House of Commons. Such a Committee could not be either learned or impartial. Its composition would be a mixture of partisans, for and against the ulterior object, which alone the mover has in view. These partisans would bring forward a number of other partisans from outside, to propound their own theories and opinions, and to put glosses upon the facts of history or the language of historical authorities; and all this partisan rubbish would be presented to the public in a "Blue Book," under the name of "Evidence"! Nor would it require much management, in a House of Commons so constituted as this is, to get such a Committee (the mover usually nominating it) as would make a report in effect for Disestablishment, etc., under pretence of summing up evidence. You might as well have an inquiry by a Select Committee into the History of the British Monarchy, or of the House of Lords, or of the connection of India with England, on the motions of an avowed Republican, or a "Single Chamber" man, or a "Home Ruler."

This brings me to the subject of your other interesting

letter, of which the most important part is your report of what you have gathered from Lord Northbrook.

To go at once to the points on which this Irish question really turns: I have not carefully studied Mr. Giffen's scheme for buying out the landlords; but Mr. Giffen is an able and an honest man, and I should not set aside, off-hand, any scheme which he advocates as really practicable. It is obvious, however, that, before the ground is prepared for those who have any conscience in this matter to entertain at all any project of an Irish Parliament, *this* part of the matter must be dealt with, in such a way as *to settle it;* and that not on paper only, but practically. I am afraid that this would take more time, necessarily (even if it were clear that it could be done at all), than what remains of the life of a man in his seventy-seventh year, who thinks he has had a divine call to give up a long-cherished hope of retirement and rest before leaving this world, in order that *he* may give Ireland peace under a domestic government. It follows that no such preliminary measures as would really take the landowners out of the power of the Parnell faction could be passed and brought into practical operation before the more perilous and questionable parts of the ulterior measure were determined upon.

I will assume that we might keep the garrisons in our hands. But to enforce (I suppose) the laws which Parnell and his nominees might make! That is the only thing they could do, except in case of a rebellion, or foreign invasion. Mr. Gladstone and others are not the men I take them for, if (under the circumstances which their contemplated measure would introduce) they would not reduce these garrisons to a numerical strength so low as practically to make them nothing but an outward sign and symbol of Imperial power; which might possibly be irritating to the dominant party, but would afford little security against them, if the measure failed to produce general harmony and goodwill. As for such a limitation of the legislative power as would prevent the Irish Parliament from returning to protection, I will simply say, that I do not believe it would or could be insisted upon, consistently with (what I suppose to be) the general principle of any scheme intended to give satisfaction to Parnell and his followers. To retain the

general power of taxation, as to Ireland, in the Imperial Parliament, would not be consistent with any such scheme; to give it to an Irish Parliament under fetters which might prevent them from raising an Irish revenue for Irish purposes in whatever way they might think best, and also alleviating (according to whatever might be their own ideas) Irish distress, could never be a final or an acceptable settlement.

You seem to be struck with the idea of retaining a sovereign power of Imperial legislation capable of overriding any Irish legislation as very important. I am not. *That* power must *necessarily* exist as to any, and every, dependency of the Empire: it exists now as to all our Colonies. But its exercise under any circumstances but those of insurrection, or general public confusion, would be against the principle of the whole constitutional arrangement, which it would practically upset; and therefore it does not take place as to any of our Colonies under Parliamentary Government, and it would not (unless in the contingencies mentioned) take place as to Ireland. I myself look upon the suggestion of this, as if it were (for any but these exceptional purposes) a practical and important matter, as little more than a *blind*, and an excuse for the (*to me*) wholly intolerable and inadmissible proposal to leave the Irish members in the British Parliament at the same time that they have one of their own.

I cannot help thinking that this proposal recommends itself to the mind, or minds, which seem to favour it for one or other of *two* reasons, than which I cannot imagine any worse: the one, as a mode to *seeming* to satisfy engagements to maintain the integrity, and resist the dismemberment, of the Empire, which may be *represented* as more substantial than a Repeal of the Union, which would make the Monarchy the only Constitutional bond; the other (base and discreditable in the last degree, if it were consciously entertained, but which may possibly exercise some latent influence even over minds which would reject the open suggestion of it with indignation), as an instrument for securing to one political party a preponderance in the British Parliament over its opponents. I dismiss this last idea without saying more: it is by no means certain that the attachment of a (really) foreign element in the British Parliament would be greater, in the long run, to one British party than to another—

what is more probable is, that it would be an element naturally tending to ally itself with those politicians and measures which might seem most likely to lower their country in the scale of nations.

To return to the first idea. Does it really mean that, while Irish affairs are to be managed by Irishmen in Ireland only, *British* affairs are *not* to be managed by Britons without the interference of Irishmen? If it means anything else, I should wish to know what the new Constitution of the Imperial Parliament is to be: how Imperial are to be separated from British affairs; what limits are to be placed, and how, upon the Irish vote in the British Parliament; and why Irishmen should have a power denied to our Colonies in Imperial affairs.

Let me strongly advise you to attach no more weight than they deserve to any Parnellite propositions, and *to follow no leader* against your own judgment in these vital matters.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 28*th January* 1886.

I am not going to blame you for thinking (as I suppose you did) that what you had said in your Election speeches about Allotments obliged you to vote for Mr. Collings's motion. But I myself, even if I went as far as Chamberlain himself on the Allotment question, should have seen in Mr. Collings's motion nothing but a move to turn out the Government, and bring Mr. Gladstone in; and, unless I had thought *this* desirable, in the actual position of the Irish question, I should certainly have voted as Lord Hartington, Sir H. James, and Arthur Elliot did. It is most unusual, according to my experience, to put any such expression of the opinion of the House upon all sorts of questions omitted from the Speech from the Throne (whatever the House may think about them) into the form of an amendment to the Address; and, if often done, it would make the debate on the Address (even more than it is at present) an opportunity for mere waste of time, and for airing everybody's ideas, reasonable or the reverse, *de omnibus rebus*. To decline to vote for pledging the House to an abstract resolution on such a topic, by amendment to the Address (unless one's real object were to vote no confidence in the Government), would be

perfectly consistent with such an opinion as I suppose yours to be on the merits of Mr. Collings's proposition; and also with any engagements, in that sense, which you might have undertaken to your constituents. And to do so, in the actual circumstances of the debate and the division, would scarcely have seemed to me consistent with the belief (which *I*, at least, decidedly hold) that a Crimes Act is really necessary for Ireland.

My regard for some of the outgoing Ministers, and for the characters of public men in general, made me glad that they *spoke out* on *this* point; even though it *was* at the last moment, and when it might be attributed to the motive of rallying the "Liberal" friends of order in Ireland, and opponents of concessions to Parnellism, in the coming division. That they (the late Ministers) played their cards very ill, by their hesitating and temporising language in the Queen's Speech, followed by the explanation that they were *waiting for Mr. Smith*, and then, at last, speaking out *without* waiting for him, when it was (as they so often told *us*) "too late," is undeniable. Still, *I* should not have voted for then turning them out of office.—Ever your most affectionate father, SELBORNE.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

THURGARTON, SOUTHWELL, *3rd February* 1886.

. . . Sophy sent you, last week, copies of the letters which had then passed between Gladstone and me, before he had received the Queen's Commission to form a new Ministry. I will now give you the sequel. On Saturday afternoon (30th January—King Charles's Day) Gladstone, having the Queen's Commission, telegraphed to me to come and see him, which I did: he (in the meantime), on account of some delay in the transmission of my answer, sending down a Queen's Messenger to Blackmoor, with a letter, of which I do *not* send you a copy; because an account of our conversation will better serve the same purpose. He said, in effect, that my points appeared to be these: the one, what was due in justice to the Irish landlords; as to which (if other difficulties did not remain) he would have liked me to see Lord Spencer, and to consider a

plan for buying out those landlords who might not prefer to run all the risks, which (as I understood) he and Lord Spencer thought practicable, and sufficient for justice. My second point, as to the principle of excluding the Irish members from the British Parliament, if they had their own for all Irish purposes, he desired to keep open: not having (as far as I could judge) so strong an opinion against my view as I had expected, admitting that the reasons *for* it were *primâ facie* strong; but thinking that there were also reasons to be considered on the other side: and at all events, holding it to be impossible that a decision on that point should precede the formation of the new Government, or enter into the basis of co-operation between its members. My third point (as to the constitution of the new Ministry) he met, by saying that his own wish and endeavour would be, as far as possible, to reassemble the same men who were in his former Cabinet.

On the first point (if it had stood alone) I could not have refused to see Lord Spencer, and form my opinion of the financial scheme in view (however little probability there might appear to be of a satisfactory result). But the second point was one, which was, in my view, too indispensable, to make it possible for me to enter a Cabinet contemplating (in substance) the creation of an Irish Parliament, in which it was to be an open question. It seemed to me that, even if the same men could be now assembled in Cabinet as before, the ground on which they stood would not be the same, in that degree which I thought indispensable for mutual confidence and political cordiality between colleagues. I was compelled to come, upon the whole matter, to the conclusion, that, as I could not be neutral on questions which I thought vital to the public interest, I should both be more free to oppose actively, if measures were brought forward which I thought wrong, and at the same time, *if* measures were brought forward which satisfied my views of justice and public policy any support which I might (in that case) think it my duty to give to them might be *more*, rather than *less*, useful, when I was not in office. Nothing, however, was said, from which Gladstone could be led to expect from me a greater degree of support, or even forbearance, than might be the right and legitimate result of a *bonâ fide* judgment of his measures, upon their merits: though,

as far as personal feeling went, the interview was most friendly on both sides.

I must say, it is rather a shock to me to see with what facility some men, in whose honour and integrity my confidence was unbounded, have been (as the *Pall Mall Gazette* put it, in its original exulting announcement of Gladstone's own conversion) "won over." In their honour and integrity I still believe, as I do (of course) also in Gladstone's own; but as, in his case, I attribute the course he takes to the compound influence of fanatical optimism and a lofty (not dishonourable) kind of ambition,—so, in theirs, I attribute their subservience to his views to the compound influence of the fascination of a more powerful over weaker minds, and the power of party names and party attachments.

How will it end? is now the question of most interest. Will that *levity*, which has (I fear) become a distinguishing characteristic of modern politics, coupled with the fear of an early dissolution, and the interest of the Radical Caucus, with a view to its own future, to put pressure on all whom it can influence to compel submission to a Government of which Gladstone, Chamberlain, and John Morley must be the absolute masters—will these things together enable Gladstone to carry his measures, be they what they may? It is far from unlikely. But, on the other hand, if there is any considerable number of politicians in earnest, really patriotic and disinterested thinking men on the Liberal side of the House of Commons, they ought (one would think) to see that Hartington's new position will give them the opportunity *now* of making that stand against revolution, which, before very long, *must* be made, unless everything is to go to ruin; and which, unless made now in the *House of Commons*, may perhaps be too late hereafter, even if it *be* made in the House of Lords. What makes failure, on the part of the new Government, appear to me most probable, is, that (as far as I can see) the landlord class cannot be bought out in Ireland except at the expense of Great Britain: and that to buy them out must add not much less than £200,000,000 to the national debt.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

Blackmoor, Petersfield, *3rd February* 1886.

A thousand thanks for your dear letter. I must now tell you about my own share of what has been going on. On the day after the division on Mr. Collings's motion (before he had been sent for), Mr. Gladstone wrote me a very kind and friendly letter, anticipating (from information which he had received from Lords Spencer and Northbrook, with whom I had been in communication) that I might find serious difficulty in joining him in a new Cabinet, formed to deal with the question for a special legislative body for Ireland, as his would be, but inviting explanations between us, with a view to overcome that difficulty, if possible. I answered him, in the same spirit in which he wrote; not exaggerating, but plainly stating, my difficulties. On Saturday, after he had received the Queen's Commission to form a Government, he telegraphed to me to come and see him; which I did. We talked the whole situation over, most amicably; but my difficulties were not removed, and I was obliged to decline joining him. My official career, therefore, is over: and my judgment and conscience are both well satisfied with the result, under the actual circumstances; though (for private and personal reasons) it is more of a sacrifice to me, than many of my friends might suppose. If it is God's will that the Revolutionary party, here and in Ireland, should prevail, at least it is well to have no share of the responsibility: if, by His help, a stand may successfully be made against them, I shall be more free, out of office, to take my part in it. You will see that, besides Lord Hartington, others have taken the same course. I am surprised, and I own a little grieved, that Lord Spencer and Sir Farrer Herschell have not.

11th February 1886.

. . . . .

Thank you for your letter. I doubt whether you do not estimate too highly the strength of the Moderate, or really Liberal party, as opposed to the Radicals. I am afraid it depended very much upon Gladstone, which should prevail;

and it is now only too plain, that he has thrown all his weight into the Radical scale. Secessions and protests of peers and great landowners will go for very little (at the present moment), unless there are men in the House of Commons sufficiently patriotic and independent to give Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen a powerful following: of which I am not as confident as I should like to be.

The *Law* appointments (English) are all three as good as they possibly could be. Herschell, Charles Russell, and Davey (by universal consent) the three first men at the Bar.—Ever your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

Gladstone's change of front resembled, in some of its circumstances, the sudden conversions of Sir Robert Peel on the great questions of 1828-29 and 1845-46. But Sir Robert Peel was in office when those conversions took place: Gladstone was not; and the character and consequences of the new situation which Gladstone created were essentially different. Sir Robert Peel's course was more self-denying, and tended to draw patriotic Conservatives in a Liberal direction: Gladstone's was more self-reliant, and tended to make independent Liberals more Conservative than before. For the one, there had been a long preparation by constant Parliamentary discussion, and the pressure of party upon party; and when the time came, there was no doubt or difficulty as to what must be done: for the other, there was no preparation; and the practical problem was as far as possible from solving itself. No British party, in Parliament or in the country, had advocated any substantial change in the constitutional relations

fixed by the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland: and those Irish Nationalists, who appeared to stop short of that claim of absolute independence for Ireland which was the avowed aim of the more resolute and outspoken among them, had given no definite shape to their demand for "Home Rule." Everything, however, depended upon the practical form which it might take. Gladstone was not able to reduce his own idea to any practical form, without parting company from several who had consented to join his Administration: and the form which it actually took met with no acceptance from the country. When the time for the decision of the House of Commons upon it drew near, he found himself under the necessity of issuing, in the shape of a letter to his constituents, a passionate appeal from reason to emotion, from the more to the less educated and intelligent classes of the people. Bright, and others like-minded, were among the strongest and most inflexible opponents of his scheme; yet he could suffer himself to write of it, as opposed only by "the spirit and power of class,"—"wealth, social influence, station, title, professions, or the large majority of them," and their dependants. And he strove, in the same address, to divert men's attention from the particular features of the scheme which he had submitted to Parliament, and to fix it only upon the vague question, whether "regard should be had to the prayer of Ireland for the management by herself of affairs specifically and exclusively her own?"

The scheme was divided into two parts,—one,

contained in the Bill for giving a new Constitution to Ireland; the other, in a Bill introduced nine days after the first, by which provision was made for buying out, upon certain terms, such of the owners of lands held by agricultural tenants in Ireland as might not prefer to remain under the new system of government.

The "Government of Ireland Bill," without so much as mentioning the Act of Union, would have practically repealed it; establishing a new Parliament for Ireland, and leaving Ireland without representation in the British Parliament. It would have given to the new Irish Parliament legislative powers extending to the repeal of laws of the Imperial Parliament whenever passed; but not unlimited, like those of "Grattan's Parliament" during the eighteen years which preceded the Union. There were to be exceptions;—amongst other things of "trade," the "establishment or endowment of religion," and the "charters and privileges of Irish Corporations"; which it seemed impossible to reconcile with the supposed principle of giving Ireland "the management by herself of affairs specifically and exclusively her own," and which were reasonable only upon the opposite view, that Great Britain is interested in all that concerns the good government of Ireland. There was no exception in favour of the rights, liberties, properties, or even the lives of individuals, apart from corporate charters and privileges. The Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council, with some Irish assistance, was to have the power of determining

whether any Act of the Irish Legislature assented to by the Crown was in excess of its powers; and a dispensing power, as to some of the excepted matters, was also to have been vested in the English Privy Council. The Irish Legislature was to consist of a House of Commons, and a new sort of Second Chamber, in which the Irish Peerage was to have a limited representation for a certain number of years; after the lapse of which it was to become wholly elective.

While Grattan's Parliament was in force, there was no Irish Ministry or Executive Government responsible to it or dependent on its confidence: all the departments of the Executive Government were controlled by the British Ministry in London.[1] But under this new scheme, the whole control over the criminal and civil Judicature of Ireland (except the Court for the trial of Revenue cases), and of the police and executive government in all departments, would have been handed over, after a short interval,[2] to a local administration responsible to and virtually nominated by the new Irish Parliament,—that is, to Mr. Parnell and his friends. As to this, there was no

[1] It was only the close Oligarchical character of that Parliament, and the influence of the Government upon it by means of nomination boroughs and Crown patronage, which made such a system possible.

[2] As to the Dublin police, there was to be a delay of two years: the local police everywhere else was to be controlled at once by the new Irish Legislature. And the Royal Irish Constabulary, "*while the force subsisted*" (words indicative of an intention that it should not be permanent), was to be subject as heretofore to the control of the Lord-Lieutenant as representing Her Majesty. It would have been within the Legislative powers of the Irish Parliament, at any time, to abolish that force.

qualification, except that certain fixed contributions to Imperial expenditure were to be charged upon the Irish Treasury, and (to secure them) an anomalous control over certain Irish revenues, and over the Court of Exchequer, was reserved to the Imperial Government.

There was a clause, providing for the revision and alteration of the provisions of this Bill (if it had become law) under certain conditions, any voluntary departure from which on the part of the British Parliament would have been contrary to good faith. Of these, the most important were, that the question of any such alteration might at any time be raised by an address from the Irish Parliament: and that, in whatever manner it was raised, the Irish members were to sit with the members for England and Scotland in the British Parliament, for the purpose of considering and deciding on the proposed alteration.

This (as it seemed to me and to many others) was a paper constitution, of which those restrictions which were intended as safeguards must inevitably raise irritating and difficult questions, causing constant friction between Great Britain and Ireland; while for the just and due performance of the primary duties of government it offered no safeguards at all. It had no elements of permanence or stability; no Irish Parliament or Administration could have been expected to remain satisfied, until some of the more important restrictions were got rid of. But it would at the same time, from the moment when the whole executive power had passed into the hands of a local admini-

stration responsible to the Irish Parliament, have disarmed the British Government from offering effectual resistance, without a civil war waged under disadvantages unknown at any former time, to any ulterior designs in the direction of more complete national independence, which the party dominant in Ireland might form. And if such designs were to assume a practical shape when Great Britain was engaged in wars or controversies with Foreign Powers, they might be dangerous to the life of the Empire. It would have done what was anticipated in a manifesto[1] of the American "Clan-na-Gael" on the 18th of December 1885: it would have "placed the government of the land in the hands of the friends and brothers" of those revolutionists; it would have given them "the plant of an armed revolution."

It was of the utmost importance that the questions raised by this and the other Bill should be understood by the country, before any decisive vote was taken in the House of Commons; and it was natural, that some of those, who could not be heard in the House of Commons, should take part in their discussion. Lord Grey and Mr. Justice Stephen were conspicuous among those who did so: I also thought this my duty; and I endeavoured to perform it, in two letters which I addressed to the *Times* during the Easter Recess, on the 21st of April and the 1st of May. In the latter I said, that I "hesitated to offer detailed criticisms upon the Government of Ireland Bill, because I was not sure that I might not be fighting

[1] Quoted in the Report of the Special Commission of 1890.

with shadows,"—adding: "I perceive that, throughout the country, those who range themselves on Mr. Gladstone's side look on his scheme as a sort of dissolving view, in which there is nothing substantial except Mr. Gladstone's own personality, and some principle of Home Rule which they are content to accept at his dictation." There were, however, two points, on which it seemed to me not superfluous, even under those circumstances, to dwell. One of them was the impossibility of placing any reliance upon the Royal *veto*, as a safeguard against unjust legislation by an Irish Parliament. Even in colonies under parliamentary constitutions, the power of *veto* only worked smoothly, because in practice it was never insisted on against any measure which was several times passed by a Colonial Legislature.

But Ireland (I said) is at our very doors; and in the working of an Irish Legislature, and in the questions with which it will be likely to deal, the interest of this country is sure to be constant and intense. Much of the time of our Parliament would probably be taken up with questions depending on the reserved power of *veto* over Irish legislation, and this might be expected to prove a constant source of irritation between the two countries. If Irish Bills were often vetoed, the friction would certainly be very far greater than in any of our colonies; though, even there, it might easily become dangerous; and under such a state of things peace between Great Britain and Ireland could not long be preserved. If, on the other hand, there were no more use of the *veto* in the case of Ireland than in England it would be absolutely nugatory and no security for anything. The moral responsibility for whatever might be oppressive or dangerous in Irish legislation, and even for supporting it by force of arms, would rest upon the British Crown, without any real power of influencing or controlling it.

Whether it was in consequence of the restrictive conditions of that Bill, or whatever else may have been the cause, I do not know; but an outcry arose, not from the Irish members themselves, but from many Liberals in different parts of the country, against the exclusion of the Irish members from the British Parliament, and there were indications that this outcry was likely to prevail. It was generally (and I have no doubt rightly) believed that this part of the plan was John Morley's, not Gladstone's, whose mind I knew to have been at least open about it when his Ministry was formed. I urged, with as much force as I could, the opinion upon that point which I had from the beginning expressed.

To retain Irish members in the British Parliament, under that or any similar scheme, would not be to preserve the substance or any of the advantages of the Union; it would be to preserve its inconveniences without its benefits, to accentuate and intensify the evils of its practical repeal, and to introduce new evils and dangers in a manner absolutely unprecedented and wholly intolerable in principle. The British Parliament is to be excluded, generally, from the power of legislation as to Irish affairs, and from all control over the Executive government of Ireland. The power of Irish legislation is to be committed to a separate Irish Legislature; the Executive government of Ireland is to be conducted by Ministers responsible only to that Irish Legislature. . . . That the Irish members should, under such a system, have a dual character; that they should take part in governing us, though we no longer took part in governing them; that they should have the opportunity of obstructing British and Imperial legislation at Westminster, and carrying on there, as well as in Dublin, perpetual war against the financial and other restrictive conditions of the new Irish Constitution; that they should still, under critical circumstances, act the part of free-lances at the service of any British faction

which will pay them their price, turning the balance of our parties and determining the fate of our Ministries, while their own parties and Ministries in Dublin are secured from our interference; that they should be offered the chance of becoming our masters as well as their own, and of overruling, as to questions of peace and war, military and naval establishments, foreign relations, and even domestic legislation for England and Scotland, the views of the majority of the representatives of Great Britain; that any Englishman or Scotchman, with ordinary spirit and intelligence and without unpatriotic purposes, should wish or consent to bring about such a state of things as this seems to me nothing short of political madness. And yet it seems that some such persons there are, and that the Government is actually supposed by many to be weak or blind enough to be capable of letting these persons have their way.

Under the "Government of Ireland Bill," the power of legislation as to land, subject to the Royal veto, was absolute; and that it would be used, directly or indirectly, for purposes of confiscation, the avowed objects and proceedings of the Land League and the National League were enough to prove. It was, doubtless, for that reason that the Land Purchase Bill offered to such landlords as could obtain the benefit of it the chance of being bought out upon certain terms, on British credit; with provision for the indemnification or reimbursement of the British Treasury from Irish sources. But the principle on which it was thought necessary to offer this security against injustice and oppression required that it should be open equally to the whole class of landowners who might be exposed to that danger; and I had foreseen that the British public would never consent to pledge their National credit for so enormous an operation, in order

to set up an Irish Legislature. My anticipations were realised; and the manner in which the measure was presented to the House of Commons by Gladstone was so half-hearted as almost to invite the general condemnation which it received. In one breath he spoke of it as an offer which he conceived it to be "a matter of honour and good faith to make," and that "in an efficient shape." But in another he admitted that the amount of the new stock of which he asked Parliament to authorise the creation for the purposes of the Bill, £50,000,000, was less than half the sum which might be necessary, according to the estimate of the Government itself, if equal justice were done to all concerned, and which, down to the time of the secessions which took place from the Cabinet, it had been intended to propose. That sum was £113,000,000 —evidently the lowest possible figure to which the estimate could be reduced by the most sanguine calculations consistent with honesty of purpose; and, according to the best independent opinions, much too little. Gladstone, in his speech, proposed not only to regard this sudden cutting down of £113 to 50 millions as a great improvement, but to look upon any future extension of the amount as a matter which ought to be reserved for the discretion of a future Parliament, and on which the judgment of a future Parliament ought to be "exercised afresh with reference to a multitude of conditions and considerations affecting the future Irish authority, conditions affecting the Irish tenant, and conditions affecting the money market"—which "issues" (he added) "were not, even to himself

and his colleagues, matters of good faith," but were "more or less, though by no means generally or universally, matters of good faith, matters of policy or expediency." The comprehension of all this (as I said in my letter of the 21st April) was too much for me: nor could I feel surprised that an enthusiastic supporter of Gladstone in the daily press,[1] "taking it to be now admitted that a reduction of the scheme to utterly inadequate proportions was a great improvement," went on to urge that "it would be a still greater improvement to remove it altogether out of the way."

What the state of Gladstone's own mind as to this part of the scheme really was, may be inferred from what he said about it in his appeal to the country through the electors of Midlothian, just a fortnight after the Land Purchase Bill had been introduced, and when it had been circulated for scarcely more than a week. He "regretted" that "while the sands were running in the hour-glass, the Irish landlords had yet given no indication of a desire to accept a proposal framed in a spirit of the utmost allowable regard to their apprehensions and their interests"—as if the power to accept or reject that proposal had rested with the Irish landlords, and not with the British Parliament and people. And in his manifesto after the general election which followed his defeat, he accepted the verdict of the constituencies as conclusive against that part, and that part only of his scheme.

[1] The *Pall Mall Gazette*—performing (as it said) the part of "Balaam's ass" to "the Grand Old Prophet."

The Parliament, which in January brought his Ministry triumphantly into power, rejected the "Government of Ireland Bill" on the 8th of June, by a majority of 341 to 311, in the largest House ever known, and was at once dissolved though only six months old. From that time forward Gladstone formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the Irish Nationalists. In the new Parliament his supporters, apart from the 85 "Nationalists," numbered no more than 191; the Conservatives rose from 250 to 316; the Liberal Unionists were 78. Lord Salisbury would have been willing to yield the first place to Lord Hartington; but Lord Hartington thought he could better serve the country in an independent position. So, with Lord Salisbury's return to power, ended that first stage of a contest which has ever since been going on. My son was again returned as a Liberal Unionist for the Petersfield division of Hampshire, and he has since done much good service to the Unionist cause.

TO GOLDWIN SMITH, ESQ.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *6th May* 1886.

It is a light in a dark sky, to hear of you as again in England. I am in the country at present (running up to London as often as my duty there makes it necessary), but I hope we may meet before long.

I have never been (and am not *even now*) a *pessimist*, more than an optimist, about public affairs. I grant that there are, in the present situation, many new, as well as serious, elements of danger. But I am a firm believer in a divine government of the world; and, although it would be a great presumption to

infer from this, that our country must certainly be saved from the calamities, to which history shows so many other countries to have been liable, whenever there was a breakdown in their systems of government, still I cannot but expect that the *morale* of the very large aggregate sum of honesty, integrity, charity, religious faith, and virtue, which I know (from a considerable amount of contact throughout my life) to be found in all the classes which make up the English nation, will prevail, in the main, over the contrary principles. I shall not live to see what comes of the ferment of this time; but I shall die in the hope, that even out of this, with all its haste, superficiality, arrogance, and impatience, God may bring good, not to remoter generations only, but to our own children, and children's children.

Your estimate of Gladstone is, I fear, most accurate. It is a great danger for any country, when a man of such qualities—too old to learn, too imperious to have any real consideration or respect for anybody's opinion except his own, intoxicated with popularity, surrounded by those who flatter all his weaknesses and repel as treason every doubt of his infallibility, and so near the end of his life as to be beyond the risk of having to bear in this world any responsibility which may follow from the disastrous consequences of his measures—when such a man becomes the *fetish* of a popular idolatry, and is led to believe that he has *carte blanche* to do what he thinks good with the public interests. If he lived long enough, there is nothing which he would not destroy. And yet, what right have *I* to blame others? I was not, indeed, by nature, capable of this sort of idolatry of any man: but I gave him a kind and degree of confidence, which I did not give to any one else. . . .

My *strong* impression is, that the Bills will be, for the present, defeated. But, if they are, a stormy and uncertain future will be before us.—Believe me, ever yours affectionately.

SELBORNE.

To Lady Sophia Palmer

Athenæum Club, 29th *May* 1886.

I am very well: as to politics, they seem to me to get worse, not better. It is generally thought now that the Bill will pass the second reading by a small majority. Gladstone has squared

all the *fools*, and there seems to be enough of them to turn the scale.—Yours most affectionately, SELBORNE.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 17*th June* 1886.

. . . We are now on the eve of another election. It is almost a revolutionary thing in itself that a Parliament elected only three months ago should be dissolved, rather than that there should be a change of Ministry after a large adverse vote upon a question of primary importance. But, in this case, I think it was the general opinion, that no Ministry which was possible could go on without a dissolution; and, this being so, nobody wished the Queen to refuse Gladstone what he asked.

The situation is unexampled, and there seems to be some reason to fear that it may not be cleared up by the results of the coming election. The prospect is that everywhere the political organisations on the Liberal side will be for Gladstone; and that everywhere there will be a minority of Independent Liberals who are against his Irish measures, and who will (generally, though I am sorry to say not everywhere, and not in the case in which I am myself most directly interested), receive Conservative support. But the curse of the party system, under which we have so long been living, is so great, that I fear that there may not be that degree of mutual cordiality between the Conservatives and the Independent Liberals, even on this occasion, which may be necessary for their success. No doubt everything which happens shows more clearly that we are approaching more and more closely to a time when the real contest will be between Revolution and the English Constitution, such as we have known it. And one of the great vices of Gladstone's Irish measures is, that they tend to the unsettlement of our whole Constitution, which is the real secret of their acceptance by the revolutionists,—Labouchere, Bradlaugh, Arch, and the others who call themselves "Labour Representatives," who are the only people, except the Irish, who heartily go with them. The rest are either driven like sheep by the Caucuses, or under the spell of Gladstone's name and personal influence, not probably without some hope, that he will afterwards reward each section

of his supporters, by cutting down the particular tree which they want to destroy. All which it is likely enough that he would do, if he lived long enough to do it. In the coming elections, much will probably turn upon the strength or weakness of the "Irish vote" in our large towns,—a problem which has never yet been clearly solved. . . .

33 GROSVENOR ROAD, WESTMINSTER,
9th July 1886.

. . . We are now more than half through this extraordinary election, of which the results will be much more unfavourable to Gladstone and his Irish policy than you anticipated. It is, I think, evident that the country is rapidly righting itself after the large apparent increase of democratic power,—more rapidly than it did after the First Reform Act; and, if Lord Salisbury does not mismanage affairs very much (of which I feel less confident than I might have done even a year ago), there is really a considerable prospect of his coming in with strength enough to carry on the government. Gladstone's Ministry and scheme seem to be doomed beyond hope of recovery; and even *he* must, I think, by this time perceive it. Of all things which have happened, the Conservatism of the Metropolis is the most wonderful; next to that, the thoroughgoing Gladstonianism of Scotland. In Wales the tide has not yet turned; but there are strong indications that it may do so at another election. Sir Watkin Wynn was within 26 of recovering his county this time from Mr. Osborne Morgan. In the English agricultural counties there is evidently some reaction in favour of the old Conservative influences; *how* great, I cannot yet tell, because not many of those elections are over. If it is very strong, it will sweep Lord Salisbury into power, even independently of the Liberal Unionists; if it is only partial, *they* will have the political balance in their hands, though their ranks will be thinned. If the reaction is great, my son's seat may be lost but at present we are hopeful about that. The polling comes off on Monday, and I shall be very glad when it is over.

It is impossible to describe the reckless (if it had been any body else I should have said unscrupulous and unprincipled way in which Gladstone has carried on this contest. The

best word I can think of is *plunging*, in the sense in which I have known that word used of gamblers on the turf. No demagogue, even in revolutionary times, could go about more extravagantly than he has done, scattering broadcast what (if he had succeeded) might have proved "firebrands, arrows, and death." It seems to have taken with the "*perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*"; but to have done him harm far and wide among the more sober sort of thinking Englishmen, alarming all who have anything to lose, and shocking all who have (like you and me), old-fashioned notions about the duties and responsibilities of Prime Ministers. . . .

BLACKMOOR, 29*th July* 1886.

. . . The elections have reassured myself, and others like-minded, of the soundness at heart of the people of this country; and we have now a change of ministry, which may fairly be expected to last through the ordinary duration of a Parliament, if Lord Salisbury knows how to use his opportunity. If so Gladstone's official life is over; though it is supposed that he will throw himself with his usual keenness into the leadership of the Opposition.

You will learn that Hartington, for himself and his friends, declined either to join or take the first place in the Government. I have no doubt, myself, that he judged wisely as well as patriotically in intention; not so much because of the general ill-success of all coalition governments as because of the peculiar circumstances of this time. For many reasons a *strong* coalition Government would at this juncture have been particularly desirable; but, to make it strong, Hartington must have been able to carry with him the steady support and full confidence of those independent Liberals whom he has led in the late contest, not to speak of those who were led by Chamberlain, whom he certainly would *not* have carried with him if he had joined Lord Salisbury. But the truth is (a sad one, I must own) that the power of party names, even after all that has happened, is still so great as to make it probable that the effect, on many of his followers in the House of Commons, and still more largely in the country, would have been to endanger very much all that has been gained by the Election. As it is, he is the man to keep

them well together, and by their help to keep the new Government in office, while he remains in an independent position; and this, I do not doubt, he will resolutely set himself to do. . . .

Much, however, will depend on the new Government; and, if I had not got beyond the point of quarrelling now with *any* Government merely from my dislike to its *personnel*, I might find it difficult to give my confidence to one in which (if reports, which seem well founded, prove true) *Lord Randolph Churchill* is to be Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. . . .

My only *reliance*, however, is upon Lord Salisbury. He has both the moral, and, in many respects, the intellectual qualities necessary for such a crisis: if he can only keep his turbulent lieutenant in order. In his last Government he made (I think) some serious mistakes, but *these* he may be trusted not to repeat, and the circumstances were then very different. I have no fear but that he will be sufficiently *Liberal* to satisfy his Liberal supporters, *i.e.* the Hartington section; for Chamberlain and his following I am less sure, but I believe that even they will prefer *anything* now, and for some time to come, to another Gladstone ministry.

As for Gladstone himself, he has used weapons, from the use of which, without success, no statesman can ever recover. I have not heard privately in what state of mind he is, but I do not doubt that he thinks himself a martyr to his own public virtue. Judging from his published letters (and all his letters about these things seem to be intended for the public) he consoles himself for the dereliction of "masses" as well as "classes" in England by the approval of the "civilised world." Perhaps he judges of that no more accurately than he did of the prevailing state of mind in Great Britain. It is not the "whole civilised world" that judges of such questions as that between Great Britain and Ireland with a disposition, so far friendly to Great Britain, as to think measures which might tend to the destruction of her power objectionable for that reason, nor are the people who write articles in foreign newspapers, or make speeches at political meetings to catch Irish votes, or send across the Atlantic sensational telegrams, the whole civilised world. I should think it likely enough that in Germany and in Italy, and perhaps in

the United States too—whenever a policy of disintegration might tend to undo the work of statesmen and the results of great and costly wars, and to destroy national greatness—there will be many men who share the feelings which Sir James Lacaita expressed to me the other day at the Athenæum. We happened to be alone in the small inner library, and he came up to me and spoke of these Irish measures of Gladstone with tears in his eyes. He has a warm affection (as you know) for Gladstone, and his son (who is naturalised here) is *Gladstonian* member for Dundee. Nevertheless, he said that nothing had ever distressed him more than these measures, not only because he thought they would be disastrous to this country, but because he was convinced that their success (if they were carried) would lead to agitation for the dismemberment of the kingdom of Italy, in Sicily first, and afterwards (not improbably) in all the provinces which were formerly independent States. . . . —Believe me, affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

TO THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON, M.P.

3rd August 1886.

It is not without some hesitation that I sit down to write to you on a subject, with which it may perhaps be thought that I, as a member of the House of Lords, have nothing to do. I mean the *seats* which Unionist-Liberals may occupy in the House of Commons.

A very great effort has been made at the elections; there have been very great sacrifices of personal and party feeling; but it has been for a cause in which you, and those who thought and acted with you, have felt that vital public interests were involved; and a sufficient amount of Liberal opinion has supported you to make those interests safe (for the present), unless, by any premature dispersion or disagreement of the forces which have been, so far, acting together, the advantage gained should be lost, or placed in peril. But the matter is not yet, nor is it likely for some time to be, out of the way: and until it is so, the same considerations which made it a paramount object during the elections must make it so still.

I take it for granted that you did right in declining office:

but that seems to me to make it so much the more plain, that the only possible Government, under the circumstances, ought to receive all possible support. . . .

It seems to me that there will be a very serious danger of losing the position which has been gained, if you and the other Unionist leaders on the Liberal side in the House of Commons sit on the same Opposition bench with the leaders of the Gladstone and Parnell alliance, and leave your friends and followers to disperse themselves, and to scramble for seats wherever they can find them, on the same side of the House. I cannot help thinking it is of the greatest practical importance, that you should, as far as possible, sit all together, and apart from those to whom you are, at the present time, really in Opposition. If you do not want to disband or discourage your forces, the obvious thing is to keep them together: if you want them to drop off, one by one, there could be no better way than that of mixing them up indiscriminately with the other side.

If there is no possibility of their sitting together on the side of the House where the majority consists of the allied Separatists to whom they are really in Opposition, it seems to me that, in the interest of the country, and to prove that they do not mean to make government impossible, they ought to sit wherever they can without being broken up, even though it be on the same side with the Queen's Government which it is their immediate duty to support. They are strong, and of sufficiently unquestionable Liberality in politics, to do this without being really misunderstood in the country. The very fact of your having declined office, with those explanations of your position which you and others could publicly and most easily give in the House of Commons, would be enough. This will be the line most consistent with that taken so manfully during the elections; and (as it seems to me) also that most consistent with the present duty of giving to the only Government which could be formed on Unionist principles as much support as is possible without compromise of opinions on other subjects.

There might be a dislike to this course on the part of some; but I cannot think that many, if any, would separate themselves from their leaders in this cause for such a reason.

Nor does it seem to me that such a course would place them

in any real difficulty, if circumstances should so change, as to remove the present causes of division in the Liberal party. In that event, you might, without any shade of inconsistency, resume your former places among your former friends. But I see no prospect of anything occurring to remove those causes of division, short of a final and satisfactory settlement of the Irish question, which may yet be a long way off. Even in the possible case of Gladstone retiring, Morley, or Harcourt, would continue to lead the same alliance; and, as long as that alliance lasts, the present situation will remain practically unchanged.—Believe me, etc., SELBORNE.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, PICCADILLY, *4th August* 1886.

MY DEAR LORD SELBORNE—I am very much obliged to you for your letter of yesterday in which you have stated so clearly the reasons for our taking up some separate position in the House. The question is full of difficulties, and I do not think that it can be finally decided till after the meeting to-morrow morning, when we shall see the disposition of the members of our party. I should not myself object to sitting below the gangway on the Government side; but I am afraid that it is quite certain that the Liberal Unionists, or even a large majority of them, will not consent to take that course, and the evils of commencing with a divided action on such a point would, I think, be still greater than those which you have pointed out as likely to arise from our being mixed up with the Gladstonians. There are physical difficulties in the way of our taking any special seats on the Opposition side, other than the front Opposition Bench. The Irish and Radicals will certainly not allow us to remain in undisturbed possession of them; and as the Irish almost live in the House, they have it in their power to secure any places which we may select for ourselves.

I quite admit all the evils of our being scattered among the Opposition members, but I am afraid that for these reasons they are unavoidable. I think that the best thing that we can do to counteract them, is to keep up our organisation at Spring Gardens, and to try to make it a centre for communication and common action. I think also that we should have frequent

meetings of the party such as that which has been called for to-morrow whenever anything arises on which we are likely to have to take independent action.

I have no doubt that we shall have some discussion to-morrow on the question of our seats; and if any better arrangements can be accepted than that which now appears to me the inevitable one I shall be very glad of it.—I remain, yours sincerely,

HARTINGTON.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON.

BOLTON, 2nd September 1886.

I am very sorry about your "Pacific" sorrows, agreeing and sympathising with you as heartily as I do. But in one respect there is a difference of temperament in our way of seeing things. You are sometimes, I think, prematurely and more than necessarily despondent and downcast. I am apt to believe that in most cases the good which has been done will still bear its fruit under all obstacles and discouragements, and that not every menace of evil will be realised. Sometimes, I admit (as in the case of Ireland), this more hopeful habit of mind is doomed to continual disappointment; but, nevertheless, I cling to it as best for the state of probation in which we live. Do what you can with all your might, in your vocation, and according to your opportunities. There must be some errors and some shortcomings in it, do what you may; but when you have done all you could, the issues must be left to God; and I feel very sure that in whatever we have been faithful, we shall find our reward.

As for our political situation and prospects here, I am rather more confident, both of the present and of the near future, than you are. I am satisfied that Lord Salisbury will be loyally supported by the Unionist Liberals, and that Gladstone will not, by his recent pamphlet or otherwise, recover the ascendency which he has lost. The close alliance with Parnell and his faction is a yoke about his neck, which I believe will be fatal to him, unless the country quickly comes round to his views of the matter, of which I see no sign. And I do not believe that the Liberal party will ever be united by the Disestablishment cry

more than they have been by that for "Home Rule." The more a disintegrating and destructive policy is favoured and avowed by party Liberals, the more numerous and stronger will be the Conservatives, and the Conservative-Liberals who will go with them.

THURGARTON PRIORY, 21*st October* 1886.

. . . Politics are *in statu quo*, and likely so to continue. Gladstone never opens his lips, or puts pen to paper about the Irish Question without increasing the distance and alienation between himself and his former friends. The condition of things in Ireland *improves* rather than otherwise. One of the R.C. Bishops (Nutty, Bishop of Meath), who was some time since an ally of Archbishop Croke, has been coming forward openly and strongly on the side of public morality and against breach of contract, boycotting and outrage.—Believe me, ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

TO THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 26*th Nov.* 1886.

I am much obliged by your letter. I have accepted very readily the duty of proposing the first Resolution on the 7th December.

I cannot doubt, in view of the restless impatience which prevails at Hawarden that it is right, and indeed necessary, for us to make it publicly and clearly understood that there is not, and is not likely to be, any change in our policy, any more than there is in *his*. Steadiness will win the day for us; and unsteadiness in our ranks is that in which Gladstone has persuaded himself to believe. It is necessary that he should be undeceived. I should myself have thought that we might very well be quiet, if they had been quiet—but their activity makes all the difference.

29*th Nov.* 1886.

I am glad that we have at last, in Lacaita's case (which Gladstone ought to feel the more, from his old friendship for L.'s father), a definite instance of the reaction which, I am

sure, many honest men on the Gladstonian side must be driven into, by the unscrupulous recklessness with which they have been carrying on their campaign.

Your impressions about Scotland are cheering. I am myself not by any means discouraged with what I see and hear. They thought they would excite a great popular wave of opinion or feeling during this recess, strong enough to force them back into power. Every one of them, except possibly Gladstone himself—who (I repeat a phrase which I have used before, in public and in private) has become morally colour-blind—must now see that they have reckoned, in that respect at all events, without their host. *Our* steady determination and equal readiness to meet the people has already done much; and I am persuaded that it will do more, and that *time* is on our side.

I do not differ from what you say about the House of Lords; but the question requires caution, as well as wise treatment. With all its weakness, and other defects, the H.L., as it is, is a vast deal better than any *Single Chamber* government.

Some of our present political friends (Chamberlain, etc.) have, unfortunately, declared themselves for the abolition of the H. of L., and *against* its *Reform*. It might not be so very difficult to decide on the reforms needed if we could reckon upon a concurrence of opinion and effort among our own friends. But there might, I think, be serious risk, in any *sporadic* action upon the subject, of simply playing into the hands of those who desire to set up a democratic absolutism, without any checks at all either weak or strong; and this (I should say) ought at all events to be avoided.—Believe me, my dear Camperdown, very sincerely yours,

SELBORNE.

To Lady Abercromby

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 10th Dec. 1886.

Although you may not have expected an answer to your extremely kind note, which would have been a reward for a much better speech than it was possible for me either to make or to attempt on Tuesday last, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of thanking you for it.

I think the proceedings of the day will have done great

(and I hope permanent) public good. It was quite time that a powerful and practical protest should be made against the identification of Liberalism with dishonesty, disorder, and crime. The *Pall Mall Gazette* and Mr. Labouchere have been provoked by our demonstration into a plain avowal, that *they* go in for those things.

From Mr. Gladstone I fear we shall have some oracular utterance, which while disclaiming responsibility for, or sympathy with, the use of such means to promote his ends, will (in substance) throw the blame on those who stand up for the first principles of morality in politics, and not on those who violate them.—Believe me, dear Lady Abercromby, yours faithfully,

SELBORNE.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 23*rd December* 1886.

. . . The news, by which we have been astonished to-day, will be stale in Ceylon, before you get this,—Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation. If it were enough to estimate the importance of such an event by one's own opinion of the character and value of the man, it might be made light of, or even made a matter of congratulation. His *presence* in a Cabinet, not otherwise strong, was from the first of ill omen,—to him, more than to any other man on the Conservative side, belongs the responsibility of having created, in the spring of 1885, the opportunity for Gladstone to take his new departure, and to obtain in it Lord Spencer's assistance.[1] But, on the other hand, he would not have been what he was in the Cabinet, if the state of their own party, in the House of Commons and in the country, had admitted of their doing without him; and, that being so, it is to be feared, that his secession may, now or within a short time, break up a ministry, upon the strength and permanence of which such great issues seemed to depend. Whether Gladstone's exulting confidence of the tide turning soon in his favour will now be realised,—whether Hartington will hold his own against Chamberlain, reinforced by Lord Randolph (a possible conjunc-

[1] See *ante*, p. 171.

tion, I think,—whether Salisbury will take a line decided enough, and at the same time Liberal enough, still to rally the general body of the Liberal Unionists round him, whatever may be the composition of his Cabinet,—whether he can find any one capable of leading in the House of Commons,—whether, if he cannot go on, Hartington will be able and willing to take the reins; and (if he does), whether it will be with or without Chamberlain, and with or without adequate Conservative support; all these are momentous questions, which fill me with anxiety. I predicted, last year, that Lord Salisbury's *last* Government would stand till after Easter,—you predicted the contrary; and you were right. I should have predicted, yesterday, that his present Government would stand through this Parliament, and that the Parliament would last at least three or four years, and would, in that time, lay some permanent foundation for a stronger-handed system of administration in Ireland. Now, I am baffled and perplexed; and I am inclined to say with Lord Beaconsfield, that "*the unexpected always happens.*" Your prophecy in your letter, that the year 1900 would not see the Established Churches standing, did not shake my confidence in the tendency of the British people to give the upper hand, in the long run, to the better cause; but what can be done if its supporters have no capable and honest leaders, or are divided among themselves?

It will be a sad Jubilee, indeed, for the poor Queen, if *this* Parliament has to be dissolved again before it has done anything. *You* do not give *the Church* fourteen years' purchase; but I am sure the Church will not fall without the House of Lords and the Monarchy preceding or following it; and perhaps some other things, which had better be left unspoken.

And all this to be accelerated, if not caused, because an unprincipled Catiline or Clodius (I refer to his public character only) has been masquerading under Tory colours, and has chosen the most critical moment, and the most critical time possible, to scuttle the vessel of the State, which had been put into his power.

Does the *Contemporary Review* find its way to Ceylon? You will see, in the forthcoming January number, a short paper of mine about *Party*. I should like to know what you think of it.

Also, what you think of my book. . . . You see, I can sometimes *croak*, as well as you. But, when my soul is in heaviness, and when all seems dark, there is always one thing to suggest strength and patience; the belief in a Power, greater than ours, which can, and will in the end, overrule all things for good.—Believe me, ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

TO THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 28*th Dec.* 1886.

I think the crisis very grave; and I am inclined to think that, if the Unionist cause is not to be sacrificed to party, Hartington might do more for it by taking the first place in the Government at this moment (which arrangement would necessarily involve a combination of Liberal Unionists with Conservatives) than by any other course.

If we could reckon upon the Government holding its own throughout the natural course of this Parliament, with the aid, *from outside*, of the Liberal Unionists, I might be of the opinion towards which you seem to incline. But can we? I am far from confident on that point. The moment the question is reduced to an attempt to *hedge* with party associations in the country, I shall think our cause gone.

Consider what must happen if anything occurs to cause the resignation of the Ministry, through their defeat (on nobody can tell what question) by some combination of groups in the House of Commons. If Hartington came in, under *these* circumstances, I cannot help thinking that he would be much weaker than if he came in now, as head, by common consent, of a Unionist Government. I cannot help thinking that the Conservatives (without whose support he could not stand for a day) would then be much less cordial towards him. On the other hand, if Gladstone came in, we should at once lose this House of Commons, on the continuance of which, for the next two or three years (or longer), everything really depends. Gladstone would instantly dissolve it (three dissolutions within two years, immediately following a great admission of untried voters to the suffrage, a process really ruinous to the Parliamentary system); the country would be told, with tremendous effect, that they had now *no*

[illegible] to accept Gladstone and his measures; and, in fact, a revolution would be at once upon us.

The difficulties may be serious, but to throw away such an instrument for good as the present Parliament is, or may be, would be absolutely suicidal.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that I am not influenced, in the view I take, by any personal objects or considerations, of which I have really none. I have no wish myself to return to office; and, though I should be ready to help Hartington, if he wished it, in any place or in any way, inside the Government or outside, I should prefer, if I might, ending my days in rest. —Believe me ever, my dear Camperdown, yours truly,

SELBORNE.

CHAPTER XXXI

LOSSES OF FRIENDS — LORD CARDWELL — HOUSE OF LAYMEN—CHURCH DEFENCE—CARDINAL NEWMAN —EFFORTS IN THE UNIONIST CAUSE—WINCHESTER QUINCENTENARY.

1886-1887

My public life, except so far as I might still be able to serve my country by voice or pen, was now over. My idols were broken. If, in a career which might have seemed more prosperous to others than to myself, I had been enabled to do any good, it was very far from equal to my aspirations; and the prospect of the future was overcast with clouds. But I will now speak of losses of another kind.

Death took from those who loved her, of whom I was one, on the 10th of February 1886, my sister-in-law Henrietta, Countess of Rothes; a lady of singular affectionateness and sweetness of character, the more engaging because they were united in her with active beneficence and high mental gifts.

Five days afterwards, Lord Cardwell, with whom I had lived, from the time when we were school-

fellows at Winchester, on terms of unbroken intimacy, also died. He had been for more than two years unconscious of what was passing around him. When I went to see him during that time, though his fine expressive countenance retained something of its old character, it was only in such a way as to anticipate the serenity of death: all power of recognition was gone.

Edward Cardwell, more than any other man of my time, was a politician of the type of Sir Robert Peel; who was quick to discern, and thought very highly of, his aptitude for public business. His grandfather, like Sir Robert Peel's father, was a prosperous Lancashire manufacturer; and his mother, a good woman of strong sense, was one of the Birleys, great mill-owners at Manchester. He was himself a native of Liverpool, where his mother, left a widow while her children were young, occupied for many years a house in Rodney Street belonging to Gladstone's father. Brought up in the midst of the great industries of the north, he well understood their practical working and economical laws. In politics, he inclined from the first to Liberal ideas, though he entered Parliament when it was consistent with them to follow (as he did) Sir Robert Peel. He was always against the Corn Laws. I remember him inveighing strenuously against them, and ruffling my own temper by seeming too ready to sacrifice the agricultural interest, when we were staying with my uncle, Mr. Roundell, at Gledstone in 1832, after having walked together through the Lake country. At Oxford, where one of his uncles was Principal of

St. Alban Hall,—a learned divine, naturally exercising some influence over him,—he gained a Balliol scholarship; and, after taking the same honours which Sir Robert Peel and Gladstone did (a "double-first" class in classics and mathematics), was elected a Fellow of that College. He married early, and for a short time practised at the Bar, with good promise of success; but in 1842 he gave it up for Parliament, in which he obtained a seat for Clitheroe. Three years afterwards, Sir Robert Peel made him Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He was President of the Board of Trade under Lord Aberdeen's Government; and after the fall of that Administration was offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer by Lord Palmerston, a post well suited to his abilities and acquirements: but declined it, rather than separate from his friends. In Lord Palmerston's second Administration there was no such difficulty; and he filled in it a succession of Cabinet offices: first as Irish Secretary, under Lord Carlisle, the most popular of Viceroys; then as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and, after the Duke of Newcastle's retirement, as Secretary of State for the Colonies. In Gladstone's first Cabinet he was Secretary for War. In every office which he held, he was a capable and vigorous administrator. It was said, by an Under-Secretary of long experience in the Colonial department, that one Secretary of State (whom he named) did all the work himself, and left nothing for anybody else to do; another let his subordinates do everything, and did nothing himself; a third

neither did it himself, nor let his subordinates do it; but Cardwell alone, of all whom he remembered there, both did his own work thoroughly, and saw that every one else in the office did the same. In the War Office he initiated and carried, in the face of great parliamentary difficulties, reforms which will give his name a place in history, and which he would have followed up with further measures, likely to have been more acceptable to the military profession, but for obstacles interposed by the Treasury; which (as I knew from Lady Cardwell) tried him sorely. He was as much alive as any man to the necessity for economy in public expenditure: but he thought, that to cripple an important branch of the public service, and hinder the smooth working of necessary changes, was not true economy. He persevered, however, in doing what he could; bearing the unpopularity which he incurred with the service whose welfare and efficiency he desired to promote, without any sign of discouragement.

In manner he was open and accessible; in that respect unlike Sir Robert Peel, whose sensitiveness of nature produced the impression of stiffness and coldness. I thought that he sometimes watched too closely the currents of public opinion, and was too critical of those who (as he used to say) "never looked out of a window." But he changed his own opinions less, from first to last, than any man of equal ability and independence of mind whom I ever knew. He had great resolution and courage, and a clear practical judgment, undisturbed by any false

colours of sentiment or prejudice. He always knew his own mind; and was, at all points and in all things, a true man; in private life as in public, spotless; and a most faithful friend.

During the same spring, on the 5th of April, the State lost another good servant, William Edward Forster, whose health had been for some time breaking. His work, both as Minister for Education and as Irish Secretary, was memorable for his clear perception, in each case, of the duty which he had to do, and for the straightforwardness and fortitude with which it was done. I never knew a more thoroughly honest man. I sat with him for the best part of an hour, not long before his death, talking over Gladstone's new Irish policy, as to which his opinions and feelings were the same as my own.

There was elected, early in 1886, at the instance of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, a body (then new) of lay representatives from the several dioceses in that Province, since called "the House of Laymen,—to meet in London simultaneously with Convocation, and to consider such questions affecting the general interests of the Church as might be brought before them by the Archbishop or either House of Convocation, or in any other proper manner." I was elected one of those representatives for the diocese of Winchester, and on the 16th of February 1886, when the House first met, it chose me for its Chairman. I wished, for

some reasons, to decline; but I was urged to accept on the grounds that the choice had been unanimously made, not as a mere compliment, but because it was thought that at the beginning of "a movement of much hope and some anxiety," my name and counsels might be useful. To such a request, so explained, I felt bound to accede.

Just before my correspondence with Mr. Gladstone upon the Church question during the general election of 1885, I was asked by a Churchman, who was a strong Liberal, to give to the world my "views upon the question of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church"; the suggestion had come in the first instance from the Bishop of Norwich (Pelham); but my correspondent, in forwarding it, added that he was sure "the wish would be re-echoed by every Liberal Churchman in the kingdom."

To give the world my views upon that question could not be the work of a day. But the wish so conveyed sounded to my inward ear like a call to that work. My differences from the party of the English Church Union had cut me off from some opportunities of usefulness, which might otherwise have been open to me: might not that involuntary isolation give me a better opportunity of gaining the ear of men of various ways of thinking, if I endeavoured to serve the Church in the way suggested?[1]

These things, taken together, made me set to work in earnest to collect materials for and compose such a

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 93, paragraph 13.

Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment and Disendowment, as might put the case before candid and serious minds, so far as my powers went, in a manner answerable to its importance. This was my chief occupation through that year; at the end of which, the book, so entitled, was published, with an introductory letter to Mr. Gladstone. It was divided into three parts:—*The Church and its Establishment,—Church Endowments,—The Adversaries and their Case*:—the two former chiefly historical, with some examination of the bearing of principles upon facts; the latter mainly argumentative. It was favourably received by most Churchmen, and went rapidly through several editions; and it was honoured by the commendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury in his opening address of 1887 to the House of Laymen. In the next year, I followed it up with another book, entitled *Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes*—an attempt (as I said in the preface) "to trace the course of those developments of early ecclesiastical institutions which resulted in the formation of the modern parochial system, and its general endowment with tithes." My chief motive for that attempt was, "to examine more fully and critically some historical questions, which, although they had no real bearing upon controversies of the present day, were sometimes represented as if they had, in a manner which made it desirable that the facts concerning them should be correctly understood."[1] One part of this work was

[1] A second edition of this work, to which I have added further

devoted to Continental Churches, another to the Anglo-Saxon Church.

My exertions in this cause were not confined to writing. In 1887 I went, among other places, to Birmingham and to Wales to take part in Church-Defence meetings. At Birmingham, we had the pleasure of being the guests of Mr. Shorthouse, the author of *John Inglesant*, a good Churchman, as well as a man of genius. And I then saw Cardinal Newman, for the last time, at the Oratory, where he lived. He received my daughter Sophia and myself very kindly; we talked of old days, of Oxford and of my brother William, of whom he spoke tenderly: and when I mentioned the idea which was in my mind of writing some memoir of him, if time and strength permitted, he promised to send me a large number of William's journals and other papers, which were in his possession: this he did soon afterwards. He spoke also of Ireland, regretting what he understood, from the information which had reached him, to be the ill-success of Mgr. Persico's mission. He looked very frail and infirm; and I thought his end was near. He lived, however, till the autumn of 1890: and then passed away;—a really great man, happy not only in his singular gifts of mind and character, but in the general appreciation of them by his fellow-countrymen, notwithstanding the relinquishment of his original position, and the almost entire seclusion from the world in which he lived.

matter, the result of researches in the Vatican Library and elsewhere, is now (December 1891) in course of publication.

In South Wales I spoke at Lampeter College, where there was a remarkable meeting. All the four Welsh Bishops[1] were there, with several of the leading laity, and the present Bishops of Chester and St. Asaph, then Vicars of Leeds and Carmarthen. At Bangor, I addressed two meetings in one day; and I never spoke to more crowded and enthusiastic audiences. The impression which I brought away from my visit to the Welsh Church was that of an active and vigorous life, likely in no long time to recover the ground lost in the last century and the earlier part of the present, if it were only left alone.

TO THE REV. JOHN VAUGHAN

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 17*th September* 1886.

I have now read through Myers's "St. Paul," which is a poem of merit, and with much power and truth in it, only it is *not St. Paul*, but a reflection of St. Paul in Myers. That is, no doubt, a very common thing in poetry; but it pleases least, when the personification is of a man so heroic, so real, and so divinely inspired as was St. Paul. — Believe me, dear Mr. Vaughan, very sincerely yours, SELBORNE.

---

[1] Bishops Campbell of Bangor, Hughes of St. Asaph, Jones of St. David's (whose guests we were), and Lewis of Llandaff.

[Sir John T. D. Llewelyn, M.P., at the Annual Meeting of the Church Defence Institution in 1895, referring to this meeting at Lampeter, said: "Lord Selborne came down and gave great enthusiasm and encouragement to all Church workers over the whole of Wales. The four Welsh Bishops were at that meeting, and I do not think that the encouragement that emanated from it has ever been fully realised and recognised. In a most helpful and inspiring speech his Lordship told us that the work we had to do was spiritual."]

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

[illegible] 4th November 1886.

Our politics continue as they were: with this gain, however (in my view), to the "Unionist" cause—one is obliged for shortness sake to use current names—that Gladstone has declined to lead on any other subject (pleading his "years"), while still with marvellous inconsistency, dedicating the remainder of his years to the leadership of the Irish question. The consequence of which is, that the "Gladstonians," who still proclaim themselves to be the true "Liberal party," are also compelled, in their public demonstrations, to nail their colours more and more to his Irish mast, and to keep their other designs (whatever they may be) in the background. He seems to have given this cue to a meeting, held yesterday, of what calls itself the "Federation of Liberal Unions," at Leeds, where the principal people seem to have been John Morley and Harcourt, with H. Gladstone (all hot from Hawarden) and H. Fowler, Broadhurst and Bradlaugh. John Morley, however, has (simultaneously with this) published a correspondence with Mr. Rendel (a Welsh Radical), in which he says, that *Disestablishment in Wales must be, from henceforth, a settled article of "Liberal Policy."*

I am very much afraid that, although this pronouncement is not made in Gladstone's name, nor expressly as by his authority, *everybody* will so understand it, and, probably, not without good reason.

. . . Has it occurred to you to consider, among other things, how this master of all subtleties would reconcile (to himself) the doctrine, that the continuance or destruction of the Established Churches in Scotland and in Wales ought to depend upon the balance of opinion, as shown by parliamentary elections, in those two parts of the United Kingdom—with his own exclusion, in his recent "Government of Ireland" Bill, of *all such questions*, from the powers of the Irish Legislature, which he proposed to create? If *you* can see your way to reconcile them, I should be *very curious* to know how you do it. Morally, logically—on any principle consistent with even common political honesty—I cannot.

. . . . . .

For my own part, though I am no pessimist, and have still a good and strong hope that the better cause will prevail, all these things make me very weary of this world, and ready to say thankfully "*Nunc dimittis*," whenever it may please God to call me out of it. Let the better cause prevail; but how can even that make up to me, for the abandonment of it by the man, to follow whom I was content to sacrifice all the means and opportunities of public influence and usefulness, which I might have once possessed? Those lost opportunities cannot now be recalled; and, even if I now, in my old age, do make some efforts to make up for the loss or neglect of them, it is little that an old man *rude donatus*, can do; and that little is sure to be full of the weaknesses and imperfections of declining strength. Nor can I shake off the tenderness of feeling towards the man himself (I could not, even if his fanaticism took a form like that of Robespierre and became threatening to all our *heads*), which the sense of a singular sort of personal consideration and kindness towards myself, on many occasions—the more singular, because *never* accompanied by any real intimacy, or political confidence—has left behind. Oppose his policy, and that energetically, if the call comes to me, I must. But the feeling of which I have spoken will always keep me from uttering . . . more than half my thoughts, as to the descent which he has made. . . .

Pray forgive whatever you differ from in all this.—Yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 29*th December* 1886.

. . . Politically, we are in the middle of a sort of crisis, occasioned by Lord Randolph Churchill's sudden desertion of his colleagues at a most inconvenient time,—by which he has fully justified the opinion of him, and the mischief of associating so unmanageable a man in the Government, which I and many others always entertained. I am not sanguine about the acceptance, by Lord Hartington, of the renewed overtures which Lord Salisbury, in the most public-spirited way, has made to him; and yet, if he does not accept now, I fear the time may come,

when he may have cause to regret it; for, if the Governmen should be too weak in the House of Commons to hold thei own, he may have no choice but either to abandon the publi cause to Gladstone, or to take office himself with less steady an cordial support from the Conservatives.

We are all well, but labouring under a very deep and heav snowfall which has done much havoc among my trees: in mo cases only saving me the trouble of deciding what to sacrifice i thinning; in a few, damaging seriously ornamental trees I cann well spare.

We had made arrangements to give an entertainme (dramatic) to all the people here in the schoolroom la Monday, but the snow made this impossible. It now stand postponed till next Monday: when we hope the roads may hav become passable; but this is not yet the case.

My book seems to be a success; it has already reached second edition, too rapidly to enable me to give it much revisio though a few printer's, or other verbal errors have been correcte It was, of course, too much to expect that it would conve those who are already committed to the Disestablishme policy; but I am not without hope, that it may afford a rallyin ground to those who are not so, and may at least help t prevent our letting ourselves be carried passively down th stream, without a timely resistance.—Believe me ever, deare daughter, your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

P.S.—Maud is very well, and is looking so. Her dear littl girl has become quite a good talker of the Queen's English.

I did not, during the years which followed th general election of 1886, keep silence as to politic I wrote several papers (most of them, though not al on the Irish question), in the *Contemporary* an *National* Reviews, and in the *Liberal Unionis* I also spoke in support of the Unionist cause, not i

the House of Lords only, but in other places; at Conferences in London in 1886 and 1887; at Dorchester, Winchester, Bristol, Edinburgh, and other towns, in 1887; at Oxford, Birmingham (where we were Mr. Chamberlain's guests), and Huddersfield in 1889; and in February 1890 in London, at a dinner to which I was invited by the Liberal Unionist Association; when I explained the true effect of the Report of the Special Commission on the charges against Mr. Parnell and his followers, for which the *Times* had made itself responsible. Of those efforts, the last, and my speeches at Bristol and Edinburgh, were the most considerable. The audiences were such as it was a pleasure to address; only twice was there some disorder; and then I had no serious difficulty in holding my own against it.

On the 26th of March 1887, the 500th Anniversary of the day on which the first stone of Winchester College was laid was observed at Winchester by a great concourse of Wykehamists. Six years were wanting to complete the half-century from the 28th of March 1843, when I celebrated in verse[1] the 450th Anniversary of the completion of the building, and the entry into it of the original members of the Foundation. The opinion of the Governing Body was that 1893 would be the most fitting time for a solemn commemoration of those events. But the zeal of good Wykehamists was not to be so restrained: and what was intended to stand to that future solemnity in the relation of a first stone to a finished work assumed

[1] See *Memorials*, Part I. vol. i. p. 359.

proportions which can hardly be exceeded when tl time for commemorating the finished work come More than four hundred Old Wykehamists assembl on that occasion; there were special services in tl College Chapel, and in the great quadrangle: and the Cathedral, to which we all walked two by tv from the College,—*sociati*, according to the old la and custom of the school,[1]—the sermon was preach by my son-in-law, George Ridding, the Bishop Southwell. Eton College sent us an address of co gratulation in Latin. Dr. Fearon, the headmaste entertained the whole company and the boys the school to luncheon in the County Hall; ar there, after our Visitor Bishop Harold Browne Winchester, and the Wardens of Winchester ar New College, had spoken, the duty of closing tl proceedings by proposing *Stet Fortuna Domûs* (usual in Wykehamical festivities), was laid upon m "Who" (I asked) "in the Founder's day could hav foreseen, that after the lapse of five hundred yea his Institutions would still be flourishing, among tl very best of this country, with ever-increasing usefu ness? Yet so it was; and so it might continue to l for five hundred years more, and as long as Englan was a nation, if Wykehamists would still be true t their Founder and their name."

[1] One of the laws of the *Tabula Legum Pædagogicarum*, set up the end of the great schoolroom, is: *In oppido, ad montem, ad templu sociati omnes incedunto.*

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 20*th January* 1887.

. . . As to politics, Lord Iddesleigh's death absorbs, for the time, all other thoughts. There is no connection, in reason, between this unhappy event and the ministerial arrangements consequent on Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation, but there is, in time, and in imagination, and it must add much to the weight of trouble and anxiety now pressing upon Lord Salisbury. I am very glad that he has got Goschen's help; never was there a moment, when there was more need of a combination of courage, firmness, sound judgment, and political integrity and ability. The whole future of the country seems to me to depend upon the continuance of the present Parliament; and, to that, the continuance of the present ministry is indispensable.

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 3*rd February* 1887.

. . . I did not before publishing the book, think it at all necessary to write privately to Gladstone, but I sent him a copy, through the publishers; and received from him a civil enough note (when he had done no more than glance at the Introductory Letter), of which it is hardly worth while to send you a copy. All that would interest you in it was, that he intimated that he was going in for disestablishment in Wales, a conclusion, at which (even if he had said nothing about it) John Morley's public declaration, about the same time, and his own correspondence with Dr. Parker, would have compelled me to arrive. This has led me (in a third and improved edition of my book, which will be published during this month), to enlarge the concluding chapter as to Wales, by the addition, amongst other things, of extracts from a speech of his own in 1870, in which he treated that matter very much as I now treat it, *i.e.* as the question, hardly disguised, of English disestablishment generally.

The reasons for my not writing privately to him were, first, that I was commenting publicly on what he had publicly said and written, and secondly, that the private letters which passed

between him and me during the elections of 1885 seemed to me to make anything more of that kind unnecessary. Nor can I see that either in the matter or in the tone of my "Introductory Letter," or in any other part of the book where his name occurs, there is anything with which he could have reasonable cause to be offended. Whether he is so or not, I do not know, nor, to say the truth, do I very much care. He has passed so many Rubicons of late, as to make me feel, not only that *political* reconciliation is impossible, but that personal confidence is so too; which being so, personal intercourse could no longer receive pleasure. What I have *felt* towards him is another matter: the disturbance of that *feeling* must be a heavy pain and wound, for the rest of my life; but present intercourse, under present circumstances, would not make the pain or wound less:—

> I had a vision of my own.
> Ah! why should I undo it!

All that happens, from day to day, increases my sense of his paramount responsibility for public demoralisation and public dangers, of the gravest kind. And to see Spencer, Granville, and others, for whom I have felt great regard for years, drawn down the falls in his wake, is a pitiable thing: of which I am forced, in my own mind, to cast the responsibility upon the one strong man, and not on the weaker followers.

It is premature, as yet, to venture upon predictions about the conduct of the "Conservatives" (so called) in the House of Commons: but I think it will mainly depend on them, whether Lord Salisbury's Government stands. Lord Randolph Churchill will do mischief, if he can. Chamberlain and Trevelyan, and their followers (fortunately), take their stand upon the necessity of maintaining in Ireland the supremacy of the law, and of the Imperial Parliament: I do not think Gladstone will (or indeed now *can*) make any concessions to them on that point; and, if he doesn't, the "Conference" will come to nothing. Hartington and his followers are firm and steady; and will, I think, so continue. Goschen is coming in for Westminster: and, notwithstanding their late misfortunes, I think he *must* strengthen them very much, both in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons. . . .

30 PORTLAND PLACE, *24th February* 1887.

. . . *What* is the kind and amount of difference between you and me, as to the consolation for all evils which may come upon one's own country,—perhaps upon those in it whom we love and care for most, as well as upon the great body of our countrymen, —to be derived from a practical view of the divine overruling government? I am not sure that, *au fond*, there is *any* difference. But I will try and explain my own views and feelings: of course, there is no ground for supposing that to you or me, or to our children and relations, or to *this country* generally, such evils will be merely transitory, or steps to some greater good, *here in this world*, and so far as this world's affairs are concerned. And God forbid that we should ever look upon the prospect of such evils in a stoical or epicurean way, or not do all that in us lies to avert them! But, when we have done all, they *may* nevertheless come; and it is then that the question of comfort from a belief in the divine overruling government comes in. Now, I believe firmly in the truth, which Plato (though no Christian) saw, that to individual men, even if they have to pass through the hottest furnace of affliction (and all nations and questions are made up of individuals), the *worst* evils which they can have to endure on this side of the grave may be *apparent*, rather than real,—to the man, at all events, *ὅστις προαιρεῖσθαι ἐθέλει δίκαιος γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτηδεύων ἀρετὴν ὅσον μάλιστα δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁμοιοῦσθαι θεῷ*,—words worthy of St. Paul, and indeed very like (in effect) to those of St. Paul at the end of the 8th chapter to the Romans. If, therefore, it be only granted, that man may, under the worst circumstances, "*be made perfect through suffering*,"—and remembering always, that we have no true abiding-place here, but "seek a city which has foundations, whose maker and builder is God,"—and that some of those whom we have loved best are already there, and we (unless we

> break faith with those whom we have laid
> In earth's dark chambers with a Christian's hope)

shall soon join them there, and that those whom we have left behind will, every one, be in these respects as we are now,—surely, the sense of the divine government may be to us all an "anchor of the soul," a strong comfort, a "very present help

in time of trouble. When we look back upon the state of the world in past ages,—before Christianity, and during the many centuries while Christianity was transforming it, and in many countries and times more modern still, it is difficult to think that anything worse, in the world, can ever happen to us, or to ours, than has happened to our fathers, to their final good. As we look back through the thick darkness, we can often see very much light: and, doubtless, there was much more, which we do not see. Why not also in any time of darkness, to the coming of which we may now have to look forward! Even in this world, it is more than possible, that the anticipation of such evils may be,—in most cases, and to most men,—worse than the reality, when it comes.—Believe me, ever yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

House of Lords, 17th March 1887.

I ought to have written yesterday to wish you joy on the completion of another year, and to say how earnestly I ask for God's blessing upon you, and your dear husband, and on your own and his work, in this present and all future years which may still be granted to you. My natural wish is that they shall be many, if that is for your good; and so long as you are enabled to do good, and to make others happy, it must be so. But whether in this world, or in that which is beyond it, God will, I am sure, answer my prayers for you.

This, you know, was your dear Mother's birthday,—to *her* the final and perpetual good has already come,—yet I cannot but think she still loves you and the rest of her children as tenderly, *at least*, as when she was with us, though we are for a time separated. The thought of her is a help and strength to me still; and I do not doubt it is to you also.—Your ever most affectionate Father,

SELBORNE.

To Lord Norton

30 Portland Place, W., *March* 1887.

It is always much more agreeable to me to be of the same opinion with you, than to differ; but on the subject of your letter of the 12th instant there is, certainly, a complete difference.

The word "Church," in its *highest* sense, no doubt comprehends all true Christians, whether visibly distinguishable as such, or not: and not these only, but all the faithful departed, and the holy men of all the dispensations before Christ, and the higher Order of Spirits; according to Hebrews xii. 22, 23. And, on the other hand, I suppose it does not include those who merely *profess* to be Christians outwardly, and have nothing of the Christian in their beliefs, lives, or characters.

But, when an organised Church on earth is spoken of, a visible Society, united by a common outward profession of faith, and by a certain organic Constitution, *must* (in my view) be understood. That such a Church does not include the unbaptized, or the lawfully excommunicated, is (I suppose) clear. It is *willing* to include all who are baptized, and not excommunicated, or who (having been excommunicated) are willing to seek reconciliation. But it is a mere fiction (and not, in my view, a harmless fiction) to represent it as including those *who separate themselves from it*, and form, in opposition to it, organised and often antagonistic communities; in which they are exempted from all its laws, both as to faith and as to discipline, by the law of the land. These are *self-excommunicated* from such a Church; which retains not even so much power over them as to be able to call them to account, or excommunicate them, for any offence whatever against its principles or its laws.

Instead of its being a technicality of the law to deny them while in that state of organic separation, the title and character of church members, I must say it would be (in my view) an affront to faith and reason, *if the law ascribed to them* that title and character. Some of them may approximate more nearly to, —others, like the Unitarians, may be more diametrically at variance with,—the Church. But they are all divided from, and not united to her.

This, of course, I say only of those who are *organically*

divided, and really and in fact *Separatists*: it does *not*, of cou apply to those who are only lax Churchmen: who do not fors or separate themselves from the Church, though they may so times go to dissenting (or Roman Catholic) places of worship.

BLACKMOOR, 21st *March* 1887.

. . . Dr. Pusey's observations[1] which you enclosed in y letter of the 13th, and which I now return, do not seem to to have any bearing on the question, whether Nonconformist this country, who by their own act and choice are organic separated from the Church of England, and are so regarded a treated by law, can with any propriety of speech be cal *members* of the *Church of England*.

The Church of England is one expression: "*the Catholic Chur* or "*the Church of Christ*," is another. The *Church of Engl* cannot be viewed in any other light than as an organised eccl astical society, living under a certain organic constitution a certain laws.

Of the visible Church of Christ on earth she may be belie to be a true branch, without claiming the attribute of universali which, as long as she is a local branch, and not the whole impossible. It would be a contradiction in terms to call a p the whole.

Dr. Pusey's language about "*the soul*," as distinct from t *body*, of the Church, is (to my apprehension) applicable only the Universal or Catholic Church as a whole, and is *necessar* inapplicable to any particular branch of it. There cannot separate *souls* in separate or national Churches. What I Pusey means is exactly the same thing, as the distinction wh some make between the "Visible" and the "Invisible" Chur He says the *bad* members, who belong to the visible Body, m *not* belong to the invisible body or the "soul"; and that th who are separate from the *Body*, as organised in particu churches, *may* nevertheless be spiritually members of the *Soul* the Universal Church. You will observe that even as to the *S* of the Church he holds that they may "by viciousness," et

[1] Dr. Pusey, *Minor Prophet*, Joel ii. 32.

CAST THEMSELVES OUT. He does not regard a formal excommunication by a Church court as either necessary or necessarily sufficient for this purpose. Much more clearly, to my conception, may they formally cast out or excommunicate themselves (by deliberate and persistent separation, and by setting up or adhering to a distinct and separate organisation) from the Body of a local or national Church.—Believe me ever, my dear Norton, most sincerely yours. SELBORNE.

P.S.—Mr. Walton has published my Birmingham speech; Messrs. Macmillan that of Lampeter. I used the term "inorganic Protestantism" not of the Disestablished Irish Church, or of any other which regard the Church as an *organised* divine society, but of those who reject the whole notion of a visible organic unity as part of the divine institution.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

30 PORTLAND PLACE, *7th April* 1887.

. . . Each new step Gladstone takes is, as it seems to me, more and more on the side of *moral* as well as political evil. Much as I disapproved of his surrender of last year to Parnell, I disapprove very much more of his present endeavour to prevent the restoration, in the present stage of the Home Rule question, of the reign of law in Ireland, and of the *means* he is attempting to use for *that* purpose. Deliberate and organised obstruction in the House of Commons, and an attempt to overrule a majority against him there, of more than 100, by violent appeals to popular passions outside,—those appeals being supported by representing the cause of anarchy and conspiring against law as the cause of liberty,—by denying the existence of any case for strengthening the law, in the face of a complete and manifest paralysis of law by the power of a seditious organisation, into whose scale he has now thrown his whole influence,—and by denouncing, in the most violent terms, the principle of measures for the protection of the loyal, and for securing the due administration of justice, which are the same (in their general character, for it is not necessary here to go into questions of detail) with those by means of which he himself governed Ireland for the last years

of his power, and far more consistent with all real ideas of liberty than the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which he introduced in 1881. It was quite open to him (of course) to contend that, by the acceptance of his Home Rule scheme, the necessity for any such measures might be prevented, and that he prefers and insists upon that alternative,—so much as *that* was involved in his measures of last year: but it is quite a different thing to denounce the principle of maintaining law and government, and defending those who respect and obey law from the tyranny of conspirators against it, and making the ordinary criminal law of the country a reality and not a mere idle name,—as "coercion," in the sense of an undue invasion of liberty. To do this, and to appeal *ad populum* against it from an overwhelming majority in Parliament, is *Acheronta movere*, with a vengeance. He has *much more than* changed places with Chamberlain; who *at the present time* is on the Conservative, while Gladstone is on the revolutionary side. . . . For a man who, with his attainments, his experience, his professions, his fifty years' public service, his political education under some of the greatest and best men of the time, has three times filled the highest office in the State, and is now on the verge of the grave, so to end his career, seems to me more shocking and disheartening than anything else recorded in our history. It is only the old respect, and old attachment, which makes one search about for the possible explanations, in the workings of a very complex and intricate mind.

If (as I trust) the Government and the House of Commons stand firm, all his efforts in the cause of anarchy will be in vain. The clause as to removing trials to England may have to be given up; but the *permanence* of the Bill (its best feature of all) must remain, if any good is to be done.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, *28th April* 1887.

. . . I will spare you a long yarn about politics this time. The G.O.M. seems to be determined to pull the whole Irish house down, parliamentary government and all, unless he can have his own way. But I have no fear that he *will* have his way, just at present, whatever harm he may do in the endeavour. But the struggle is very disagreeable, as well as sharp. The

only *leading* men, besides himself, who seem to do his bidding *con amore*, are Harcourt, and—I grieve to say—Spencer. It seems likely that Rosebery (who has just returned) will do the same; for he has made a speech, Gladstonian *à l'outrance*, at Glasgow. But I cannot help making distinctions: Rosebery, and some others, have not a *past* to get rid of, not a great reputation to destroy.

On the 15th of this month my son became the father of a little boy,—who, as well as the dear mother, is flourishing. And last Tuesday (the 26th) he made a decided mark, by a capital speech in the House of Commons, which all our friends are praising. Congratulate us!—Yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

To Lady Sophia Palmer

5th May 1887.

. . . My dinner at Sion College went off very well, though the Archbishop was not there. I sat between the Bishop of London and Sir Evelyn Wood, who was very agreeable. Canon Liddon proposed the Houses of Parliament, for one of which I had to answer; and he took the opportunity of saying some flattering things about my book.

Last night, at Lord Salisbury's, I was introduced to Lady Alice, and took her sister, Lady Airlie (whom I found very agreeable, as well as very pretty), in to dinner.

I do not think that the new political complication, by Sir C. Lewis's foolish move about Dillon and the *Times*, will do any greater mischief, than its assistance to the obstructionists to waste two days (at least) of precious time. The Government, in refusing to treat the question as one of privilege, or to transfer from the Courts of Law to Committees of the House of Commons questions of libel when members are concerned, have clearly taken the right and constitutional course; and the only doubt, in my mind, is, whether they have not gone too far in offering, to Mr. Dillon or his friends, the mode of trial by "criminal informations" (at the public expense), instead of leaving them to bring actions in the ordinary way. But this does not seem likely to be of any consequence; as the gentlemen

in question, who evidently do not want to go into a Court of Law at all, have (as yet) declined the offer. . . .—Believe me, my darling child, ever your most affectionate father,

SELBORNE.

To Lord Norton

30 Portland Place, W., 10th May 1887.

. . . Our experience of the comforts and blessings of married life—of the constant, untiring love and wisdom, and practical help in all things, of a better self without one's own faults, the partaker of all our thoughts, wishes, hopes, and fears, and (what is much more than this) the partaker and helper of our faith—has been the same; and now our experience of what it is to pass through the evening of life alone (so far as any one who believes in God and in the higher and eternal life with Him of "the spirits of the just made perfect" can be alone) is to be the same also. I trust that the hope, the prospect, if it is not presumptuous to say so, of reunion, and such realisation as is possible here of the "communion of saints," living and departed, may be to you, as I have found it, still a strengthening power and a guiding light, sufficient to make the prolongation of one's own life here (as long as God has work for us to do) endurable without repining, and the anticipation of one's own death (whenever it may come) as bright and happy as is consistent with a humbling sense of sin and unworthiness, which, but for what our Saviour has done and suffered for us, might have been too much to bear.

I ought to qualify what I have said about being *alone*, not only with reference to the promise, "I will not leave you alone, I will come unto you," but also with reference to that most precious gift of dear, loving, and Christian children, in respect of which also God has dealt most graciously with both of us. You will find the comfort of their love very great, as I have found it.

May every blessing still rest both on them and on you.—Believe me, my dear Norton, most sincerely yours,

SELBORNE.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

30 Portland Place, *Ascension Day*, 1887.

. . . My new grandson, the inheritor hereafter (if it so please God) of my name, was, on Monday the 16th, baptized; his Christian names being *Roundell Cecil:* and on the next day (the 17th) his uncle, Lord Cranborne, was happily married to Lady Alice Gore, daughter of Lord Arran. It was a perfect wedding, in St. Margaret's Church, as full as church could be; afterwards, a great squeeze at Lord Cowper's, where I, in my blundering way, kept stumbling upon Royalties, without knowing them from other mortals! The young lady, I do not doubt, will prove to be worthy of him, which is saying much; for, to the abilities and virtues which distinguish the whole of the young generation of that family (virtues, of which simplicity is not the least) he adds more of the graces, than some others of them. His next brother, William, has just taken orders, and is likely, I think, to make a sensible and manly-minded, as well as a sincere and zealous clergyman. . . .

I have been helping, as well as I could, both by speech and by pen, in the stand which is being made against revolution and political demoralisation. I do not suppose you see the *Contemporary Review* in Ceylon; if you did, I should like to hear your opinion of two papers of mine, in the February and April numbers. Another paper, on the present attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, was extracted (from the *Liberal Unionist*) in the *Times*, which I suppose you do see. And I have made speeches in support of the Crimes Bill, at public meetings in Dorsetshire and Hampshire, one of which, separately published, I send you herewith. In the meantime Gladstone has been *developing*. Both at a breakfast or luncheon, given him by Dr. Parker of the "City Temple" (where he addressed three or more columns of the *Times* to a body of admiring Disestablishment men), and in recent speeches in the House of Commons, he has been *positively vindicating*, not merely Parnell and his friends, but their *modus operandi*, by *boycotting* and the like. What do you think of these specimens from the "Parker" speech (which he concluded

by pledging himself to Welsh Disestablishment, if desired by the majority of the representatives of Wales)! "These" (he said) "may be very bad things, *but they are the only weapons of self-defence belonging to a poor and disheartened people!*" And he insisted on the duty of uncompromising resistance to a Bill, which "*proposed to take from the Irish people, under the name of crime, methods of action which, though not to be desired, in a healthy state of society, may, when society is in an unhealthy state,* BE THE ONLY PERFECT REMEDIES AT THE COMMAND OF THE PEOPLE." The unscrupulous obstruction which he has been leading in the House of Commons you will have seen; and you can judge as well as I can, how surely, if he were again in power, and if a Conservative minority (not larger) were to resist in the same fashion *his* measures of Revolution or Disestablishment, he would use *any*—even Cromwellian—methods to put it down. His action is making all other proceedings, of all other revolutionists among us, seem comparatively respectable. In the meantime it is some consolation that his attempt to appeal from Parliament to the populace has been, decidedly, *not* a success; and, as far as I can judge, he is rather losing than gaining ground in the country; though Trevelyan has gone over to him; and though his *entourage* is jubilant, at having prevented more than one clause of the Crimes Bill from being got through before the Whitsuntide recess. The struggle is arduous, and must for some time continue so. But I have a good hope, that firmness and patience on the part of the Government, and disinterested patriotism on the part of the great body of the Unionist Liberals, in Parliament and in the country, will bring us, in the end, safely through it; and that Gladstone will never be a possible Prime Minister again.—Yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

CHAPTER XXXII

VISITS TO ITALY—LETTERS

1887–1888

In 1887 and 1888 I visited Italy with my daughter Sophia, my inseparable companion; and in 1888 my youngest daughter Wilfreda and her husband George Biddulph, and Sir Arthur Gordon's son, joined us for part of the time.

In 1887 we went, at the most beautiful time of the year, just between spring and summer, to Bellagio on the Lake of Como, where we stayed three weeks in the Villa Serbelloni; making excursions daily to different parts of the lake and its shores. From thence, when we began to feel the power of the summer sun, we went to Monte Generoso, where our hotel stood more than half-way up a mountain 5000 or 6000 feet high, which falls steeply down to the lower reach of the Lake of Lugano,—a mountain famous for the richness and variety of its flora. It was at that time accessible only on foot or horseback. We rode up through thick woods, approaching the hotel among wild laburnums in full flower. The grass,

high and not yet mown, which covered the sloping hillsides, was full of showy columbines, thalictrums, phyteumas, arnicas, asphodels, rose-campions, all in full bloom; and other less common plants, among which were the bright orange lily, a cream-coloured Turk's-cap, and several kinds of white lilies. Higher up, in patches here and there along the craggy ridges towards the summit of the mountain, and on ledges of the precipitous slopes down to the lake, were clusters of large wild pæonies, rose-coloured with a shade of purple. From the summit, all the principal peaks of the great Pennine range were seen; and at points below, reached with less labour by walks through the wood, we saw beneath us the lake and the St. Gothard railway crossing it, and looked up, on the opposite side, to the snowy masses of Monte Rosa, the Mischabel, and other giants of that region.

While we were at Monte Generoso, the day of the Queen's Jubilee was celebrated there by a large English party, at whose request I took the chair; and none of Her Majesty's subjects at home could have wished her health and happiness more heartily than we did. I had, twelve months before, on the opening day of that Jubilee year, paid a tribute to her in some verses, published in the *Times* (without my name),[1] in grateful memory of the sympathy which she had shown me in my sorrow; and they came back into my mind, though not to my lips, as I spoke of her to the company then assembled.

[1] Signed with my initial, S. The editor gave them the title of *A Statesman's Tribute to his Queen.*

Queen! more than Queen! Lady of tenderest heart,
Gracious as great! born to that glorious part,
To rule o'er half the earth and all the sea,
Imperial mistress of the brave and free,—
Thou with such homage hast not been content
As loyal souls to kingly worth present;
But in thy natural goodness, scorning pride,
The fountains of thy love hast opened wide
To all thy people,—making still thine own
Such joys, such sorrows, as thyself hast known.
So hast thou won thy people's hearts;—they see
Wife, Mother, Friend, not Queen alone, in Thee.

After a fortnight at Monte Generoso, we went on to another place, high up in the main Alpine chain, which we heard of while we were there;—Piora in the mountains between Airolo and Dissentis, looking down upon the upper part of the St. Gothard railway, where the line, emerging from the main tunnel, begins its downward course towards Italy. There a solitary hotel has been built, just where the overflow of a small crater-lake, surrounded by an amphitheatre of snow-sprinkled crags, descends in a magnificent fall into a deep ravine, through which the waters find their way to the valley. On that side of the lake there is wood; on the other all is rock and grass, to the water's edge. We had a long and steep climb from Airolo, riding across precipitous grassy slopes, through pine-woods, or up staircases of jagged rock. The platform of ground on which the hotel stands commands in front a full view of the lake, and on the opposite side (looking over the railway) a glorious view of mountain-tops, with large fields of snow lying above and among the pine-woods

with which their slopes are clothed. We were there for a fortnight by ourselves: the weather was fine, and it was a time of great enjoyment. The extraordinary profusion of plants of the higher Alpine regions (different from those of Monte Generoso), then in their greatest beauty, lighting up with their bright colours the rocks and hillsides, were company enough for us,—rhododendrons, the large-flowered, and the small starry gentians, soldanellas, primulas, of many shades of purple and crimson, daphnes, great patches of *Dryas octopetala*, and of a trailing plant covered with pale blue scabious-like blossoms, yellow anemones, and (perhaps the most beautiful of all) masses of the moss-campion (*Silene acaulis*) carpeting with its pink flowers every moist place along the roadsides. All pleasant things must come to an end—our holiday did so, only too soon: we retraced our steps to Airolo down the steep mule-path, which, laborious as it was, we preferred to descend on our own feet; and, stopping for a Sunday at Amiens, were in London soon enough to enable me to take part in the debate on the second reading of the Irish "Crimes Bill" in the House of Lords.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, *6th June* 1887.

. . . It has been a strange sort of Jubilee year, the battle of life and death (as it were) to the British constitution is very little in harmony with Jubilee thoughts; and, certainly, that battle is going on. I am well pleased with the steadiness with which the

opponents of Gladstone's policy (speaking *generally*, for there are *some* exceptions, most notably Trevelyan) stand to their colours, and extend and consolidate their organisation. You will see, in *last Thursday's Times* (*2nd June*), what took place on the 1st of June at Birmingham; and you will read John Bright's letter. Any other man except Gladstone must feel it; but he, I suspect, has no feeling left, except that of impenetrable belief in his own *present* infallibility; for, strange as it is, the renunciation of much of his *past* life is indispensably necessary to the acceptance of that dogma. Happily, as I write, I do not know what he is saying this day in Wales, beyond the fact, that he is no doubt continuing to stir up the Welsh people to discontent, and teaching them to go in for Welsh "Home Rule," as the proper remedy for wrongs and rights of Welsh interests, of which nobody ever heard till he suggested the idea—at all events, not in serious earnest. The speech at Dr. Parker's (which I mentioned in my last letter to you) was worse than anything he had before done or said; and it was followed up by him, in a like strain, in the House of Commons. I shall be surprised if he does not, in addressing his Welsh audiences, take the anti-Church line, more openly than he has ever yet done, even at Dr. Parker's; and I shall *not* be surprised if he justifies the wholesale robbery of (what is called) the "*tithe* war," as he justified *boycotting* on that occasion.

But for all that he can say or do, and for all the unscrupulous obstruction to which he has given his help and countenance in the House of Commons, I continue to be in good heart as to the result. *Ministers* when they are strong and in earnest govern the world, the weak and irresolute men are so many. And so I believe it will be with these, who are now a minority of the "Liberal" party. They know what they mean; they have made, and will continue to make, sacrifices for it; they have no trouble or embarrassment with their consciences; they have no inconvenient bargains to make with any discreditable allies; they have a free hand, and a settled purpose, which is really their own. And the defence, not only directly of the supremacy of Great Britain over Ireland, but the credit and authority of our whole Parliamentary Constitution, and of public morality itself, has fallen into their hands. These are great advantages,

and they will tell, I am persuaded, more and more. Of course I do not mean, that in the work, which I say has fallen into their hands, the Conservatives have not also an equal, or even a greater share; but, on merely Conservative party lines, the work could not be done; and the necessity for doing it, and of working together for it, tends inevitably both to make Conservatives more Liberal in the good sense of the word, and Radical Unionists more Conservative, in the sense opposed to demoralisation and revolution. There seems to me to be a great and an increasing resemblance between the circumstances of this time and those in which Fox's Jacobinism separated him from such men as Burke, Elliot, and the rest of the anti-Jacobin Liberals of the last ten years of the eighteenth century. I anticipate the consequence, now as then, may probably be a rather long continuance of Conservative Governments composed of honest and patriotic, though perhaps not very strong men; but with this difference in favour of the present time, that there is no danger now of any reaction towards a merely obstructive Conservatism. . . .—Ever yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

Villa Serbelloni, *9th June* 1887.

I wish you were here in this beautiful weather to make a portfolio of sketches on this lake, as well as to enliven us with your company. Yesterday, in glorious sunshine, with just clouds enough to throw shadows upon the hillsides, and breeze enough to prevent one being roasted on the deck of the steamer, we went up to Gravedena, a little town at the head of the lake. Every point at which we touched seemed more beautiful and picturesque than the rest,—Menaggio, where your dear Mother, and the rest of our party who came up from Como by water in 1857 *en route* to Lugano, were only too glad to land after a very boisterous passage, Varenna, Belluno, and other places, each superb in its way; with the high snowy Alps for a background, continually varying, and showing at each turn and crossing new and different peaks.

To the Archdeacon of Oxford (Palmer)

Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, 11*th June* 1887.

We have thoroughly enjoyed the scenery of this most beautiful of lakes, and have been out a great deal on the water. Sophy is already the better for it, and I am not the worse. I do not recollect whether in 1857 we saw clearly the snowy Alps which crown gloriously the head of the lake, or whether the day we crossed they were hidden. It was the day that dearest Laura's maid, Heckford, was taken prisoner by the Austrians! at the frontier town between Como and Lugano.

In order to make you write to me at Monte Generoso, I will ask you to refresh my memory as *to where the Bituriges lived*; and *what is the modern name of their chief town or city?* . . .

To the Rev. G. Horsley Palmer

Villa Serbelloni, 15*th June* 1887.

As to Sophy, she is enjoying herself immensely; we are very happy together, and I have a confident hope that, by God's goodness, she will return home with her strength well restored. But for my feeling that it was *necessary* for her sake, I should reproach myself for my absence when the battle of public morality and constitutional government is still raging so hotly in England. I have a good hope, that for the country all will turn out well; but it costs me very often anxious days, and disturbed nights.

To Goldwin Smith, Esq.

Hotel di Piora, Airolo, Suisse, *July* 1887.

My dear Goldwin— . . . As to the practical question I do not differ from you *au fond*. If the Church of England cannot or will not do her proper work, no doubt she will not stand. She must suffer the fate of all trees, which are barren and without fruit, when the Master comes to seek for it. But I

am sure that the Church of England is doing much of her w
well, and better than it is done, or is likely to be done, by
other instrumentality in England. And therefore I have a g
hope for her, whatsoever her shortcomings may be.

. . . The political situation in England has in some resp
improved, in others perhaps it may be thought to have bec
worse. Worse, because persistent, and systematic atten
by a large parliamentary minority constituting the "reg
Opposition" to prevent the majority from legislating and gov
ing are new, and tend to make the working of our constituti
system more difficult, and worse in point of example to our
people and to foreigners than it ever was before: also, bec
the selection of an Irish Crimes Bill, only differing in
important point, that of permanence, from Gladstone's own,
this new development of obstruction is a scandalous instanc
political profligacy; and because Gladstone, in connection
these proceedings, has added to all his audacities of last ye
progress in demoralisation of which I could not have tho
him capable by publicly extenuating, and even justifying,
boycotting system, and all the other measures of his Irish al
against which the Crimes Bill is directed. But the situatio
improved in all other respects, because the Liberal Union
with very few exceptions, have maintained a decided attit
and are confirmed in it by many proofs of a growing sympa
with them in the country, which has answered, even bey
expectation, to their measures for organising their forces ev
where; and their relations to the Conservative Governm
continue to be such as [illegible] requires, without as far
[illegible] in the country.

[illegible] with pleasure is mal
[illegible] which he gives much of his mind
[illegible] his country duties. You
[illegible] grandson, whom I
[illegible] will bring
[illegible] and good w
[illegible] we are gon
[illegible] SELBORNE

To ———

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 18*th August* 1887.

. . . Things have been going more in Gladstone's way and less in ours than I had hoped and expected. I am not surprised that Gladstone should now be becoming loud, and saying, that there "can be but one end" to the situation, etc. But, even if this should be so, the time is not yet; and it will hardly come (I think) for *him*, unless he means to live several years longer, and to keep the lead of the Home Rulers and Disestablishers, even after he is *eighty*. . . . As to —— my line is *not* to talk to him about politics, etc., as if I wished to dictate to him, or to assume superiority . . . but, when these subjects naturally come up, I say what I think about them freely, in his presence —whether with any good effect or not, I cannot tell. Even if he should take up seriously, at his present age, ideas which you and I have reasons to dislike and think dangerous, it by no means follows, that he will retain them, when his judgment is more matured, unless, indeed, he were driven the wrong way by those who ought to deal wisely, and not impatiently, *with an independence and activity of mind, which ought to be assisted rather than discouraged.*

You referred to the extension of household franchise to the counties, as a measure of which I had accepted the responsibility, and which may be, in a great measure, the cause of our present dangers. All questions of that kind have, hitherto, seemed to me to be questions of time and opportunity, rather than of abstract principle. I never wish such changes to take place sooner than they are necessary; when they are necessary (*i.e.* practically unavoidable) I am in the habit of accepting the necessity, and of believing that it is the wisest and safest thing to do, and that what is so done is likely to work, on the whole, well. So it was in this instance: I did not go in for household suffrage in the counties until Hartington and all other Liberals except Goschen had done so—then, I was convinced that it *must* be done, and that the time had come. I have always had, and have still, a profound belief in the mental influence of all classes of the people on each other, and in the certainty that, with any reasonable degree of honesty

and patriotism on the part of those who ought to lead them, the working class, or so large a proportion of it as to turn the tide in politics—would go with their employers, etc., and not with the agitators who seek to persuade them that they have a separate interest, and would be gainers by a social revolution. And so I believe it would have been now, if Gladstone had not done his best, at this critical time, to demoralise and excite them, instead of the reverse. Even now, I am not despondent as to their future behaviour, though I must own I have my doubts and even fears.—Believe me, etc., SELBORNE.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *24th November* 1887.

I have not lately deserved the character of a good correspondent; which *you* have never ceased to be. Book-making and *stumping* are not favourable to correspondence, and of *both* these, my hands have lately been full. The *book*,[1] I am glad to say, is finished; though the proofs of about half of it remain to be corrected. Still, it is off my hands now: I doubt if, when you see it, you will think it worth the labour; which, yet, has been a labour of love to me. To turn a little aside from the troubles of Church and State in our own day, to those of former days, still more than our own; and to study in its earlier stages, that process of the organic growth of a Church, which may perhaps have to be repeated in the time, if not of ourselves, of our children, has been to me full of interest. And in dealing with those antiquarian subjects, I have found it pleasant to renew that employment of the critical faculty, in which the professional part of my life was constantly engaged. If it were not that my name is known in other fields, I should expect this child of my old age to fall about as still-born from the press, as my dear brother William's books used to do; it has, however, interested my brother Edwin, who has kindly looked over the rough proofs for me; and it may, perhaps, find (besides him) "fit audience, though few."

I do not know what you may think about my *stumping*. That operation has been made an odious necessity, if we are to

[1] *Ancient Facts and Fictions.*

oppose any resistance at all to the torrent of words which flows continually from Hawarden, and to which all the lieutenants of the Hawarden party seem to be compelled (whether *bon gré* or *mal gré*) to contribute. There is not any one of them whose degradation in this way grieves me more than Granville; because I feel absolutely sure, that it is against the grain with him; though I am bound, at the same time, to confess that a large share of the responsibility for Gladstone's whole recent course must rest with him; for *he* was amongst the very few who had the opportunity of saying a word against it, before Gladstone was committed; and, if he had done so, I am confident that Spencer would never have laid his fair fame at Gladstone's feet. But the word, I take it for granted, was not spoken. The detestable old Whig habit of turning *party* into the one sacred principle of politics, playing Patroclus to Gladstone's Achilles, these elements, I am afraid, make up Granville. Yet he was the one man who might have prevented the *fiasco*, with all its possible consequences to the country, if he had chosen.

Among the other portentous novelties of our time, the attempt, as I have said in one or more of my ephemeral writings, to transfer the centre of political gravity, at *all* times —not election time only—from Parliament to the platforms is the most inconvenient, and probably in its tendencies the most dangerous. But you may ask, why not stand aloof from it? Personally, I should most certainly have done so, if the call had not seemed to come to me without my seeking it; but, if everybody who is not a revolutionist stood aside, the Revolutionists would have it all their own way. As it is, I think that is *not* the case: though, how things may end it is impossible to judge. I have ceased to think Gladstone *mortal;* and it is quite possible that even if he should not be able much longer to maintain his astonishing activity, he may have succeeded in giving an impulse to Revolution, which may go on when he is no longer able to stimulate it. I have *myself* had fair enough success in my stumping, both for the Union and for the Church; so much so, that I constantly receive new requests in that way; and I have still three speeches to make,—one at Edinburgh on the 18th, before we go to Rome. . . .—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 29th November 188

I give you a Father's thanks and blessing for your very birthday letter, and I ask God in return for all your love to l you and your dear husband in all things,—in your work for I and for His people, most of all.

We expect to leave England 20th December and go to Hôtel d'Angleterre at Rome. It is not possible for me to g Nottingham this year, but another year, if George should t it desirable, and if strength and health is still given me, I w not refuse. That I should be thought to have done some g in Wales is enough to encourage me to do more. I have a g hope that, if we meet the dangers which appear to threaten resolutely, and in the right way, God will bring us safely of them.

I read your address at the Church Congress with ext satisfaction, and I think that it would do good, if separa published.—Believe me, ever yours most affectionately.

Selborne

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

Blackmoor, 29th November 188

I must not let your birthday letter go without thanks. *truth* may be spoken in play as well as earnest. Certai my children *have* been, with their dear Mother (next and by God's grace), *the* blessings of a life, much more ha than it could have been if I had only got my deserts. But G goodness abounds, above all that we can ask or think. And sons-in-law have been like my children. May *He* return to th all, abundantly, the affections and duty which they have sho to their parents.—Your most affectionate Father.

Selborne.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

Turin, 22nd December 188

. . . And now as to politics. I have, since I wrote, b making three more speeches on the political situation, an

have no reason to be dissatisfied with the reception of any of them. I cannot charge myself with having said anything *personal* anywhere, which I ought not to have said; and as Harcourt (whom I have never named or alluded to) has done me the honour to bestow upon me some of his pleasantry, I suppose I may have done some good. Of course I did not volunteer for all the stumping, which I hate, but it was pressed upon me, and I thought I ought to do what I could, thinking that it is νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών. In my October campaign I spoke (for the Church) to a large audience at Birmingham, also twice in Wales.

As to prospects, I am sorry that George Curzon takes such gloomy views. I do not share them; nor do I share your own about the Church; notwithstanding the weak tone of the *Times*, and of such politicians as Lord Derby. But if Wales goes, I see clearly, that *all* must go. More of this hereafter. But, as to the political situation, my opinion is, decidedly, that the Gladstonians are *beaten for the time;* and that they know it. They expected to have carried the country by storm this autumn: and and they have certainly not done so. I firmly believe that they have lost ground, and not gained it, by so distinctly making common cause with Parnell and his League, attacking the first principles of government. If Trevelyan does not stand quite alone on one side, neither does Lacaita on the other.—Yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

We determined to spend the following winter in Rome, and arrived there just before Christmas. It was the time of the Pope's Jubilee;[1] the city was filled with devout members of the Roman Communion, lay and clerical, from many countries. We were present at the great service in St. Peter's on New Year's Day 1888, when Leo XIII. for the first time officiated after the manner of his predecessors. We

[1] The Jubilee of his ordination to the Priesthood.

saw him borne in State to the central high Altar on the *sella gestatoria*, with the *flabella* or ostrich feathers waving above him,—a part of the ceremony which to me seemed barbaric, and more suitable to a Byzantine Emperor than to the *servus servorum Dei*. The rest was solemn and impressive; and the burst of feeling towards the Pope from the vast multitude which filled the great church to overflowing, in irrepressible but not irreverent acclamations, was very touching. Nobody, I think, could be in Rome at that time, without feeling how great a moral power, with all its humiliations, the Papacy still was: to me, the new Italian Monarchy, as I saw it in the Quirinal and in its Legislative Assemblies, seemed by comparison small. I am not one of those who are specially impressed by jewels and splendid vestments; but it was impossible not to be struck by the wealth of presents, from emperors, kings, queens, republics, and private men, which filled the chambers of the Vatican. It was equally impossible not to recognise the genuine enthusiasm of those who flocked to Rome for that occasion from so many parts of the world. We fell in with some, friends of our own, who had come from England, and became acquainted with others through their means,—and among them were Bishops of Roman Catholic sees in this country, who made upon us a very favourable impression.

We found the English and American society then in Rome very agreeable, and we were brought into communication with some Italians of eminence—of whom the Pope's Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla,

was one. I had opportunities, when conversing with those who desired to understand the state of things in Ireland,—not indeed of discussing political questions (from which I studiously abstained), but of helping to remove misconceptions as to matters of fact, such as the Irish land-laws, the Crimes Acts, and the system of terror and war against property, with which the British Government had to contend.

My daughter Sophia and I were admitted by Leo XIII. to a private audience, to which we were introduced by Dr. Virtue, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Portsmouth. The dignity and simplicity with which we were received were worthy of primitive times. The Pope made us sit down by him, took our hands, and conversed with us for nearly an hour, freely and without reserve. No controversial subject was mentioned. We listened with great interest to all that the Pope said. He expressed great good-will towards England, regretting the difficulties which stood in the way of direct communication between himself and the British Government. He referred to the mission of Mgr. Persico, and to his own wish that the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland should be used for the discouragement and reprobation of all crimes and outrages, and other immoral means of promoting agrarian or political ends. He had already, he said, done something in that direction, and was prepared, if necessary, to do more;—as he in fact did, not long afterwards, by his Rescript against boycotting and the Plan of Campaign. I spoke of our recent visit to Cardinal Newman at Birmingham,

to my account of which he listened with interest; saying, that it had been a great satisfaction to him to do honour to such a man. When the time came for us to retire, he rose from his seat and bade us farewell, giving us his blessing; and then calling to us to wait, he followed us to the door of the apartment; and again taking leave, he again gave us his blessing, not for ourselves only, but for all whom we loved. If all Popes had been like Leo XIII., Christendom might have been united till this day.

After two months spent very agreeably in Rome (during which I found time to examine manuscripts in the Vatican Library relating to some of the subjects of my recent ecclesiastical studies),[1] we went, a happy family party—for Wilfreda and George Biddulph and Arthur Gordon's son had now joined us—by way of Naples to Sicily.

TO THE MOTHER EMILY

HOTEL D'ANGLETERRE, BOCCA DI LEONE, ROME,
St. Stephen's Day, 26th December 1887.

As I was disappointed of my intention to see you when last in London the day before we left England, I thought you should be the first of the family to whom I would write after finishing our journey. Though two of the nights were passed on the road, both I and dear Sophy, if a little tired, are quite well. Happily we had a very fine Christmas Day, and bright services at the English Church. Except going to those services, we have not yet been out at all, though some of our

[1] I am glad to acknowledge the assistance which I received, in obtaining access to those manuscripts, from Mr. W. H. Bliss, formerly of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and then on the staff of the English Record Commission.

acquaintances who are here have already found us out. I meant to have visited William's grave again to-day; but the rain has prevented us. They say the Tiber is all over the left bank, putting the streets near it, the floors of the Pantheon, and the access to the Porto di S. Angelo, under water, in fact like Horace's description in his Second Ode. There is to be a great service in St. Peter's, on Sunday next, 1st January, for the Jubilee of the Pope's ordination to the Priesthood; at which His Holiness will be present, leaving the Vatican, *even* for St. Peter's Church, for the first time since his accession to the Papacy. We have hopes of getting places through the good offices of Monsignor Campbell, the Head of the Scotch College, who was a friend of William's. Having done, for the present, those other things which diverted me from the Family Memorials which I took in hand in 1885, and not knowing how much time may yet remain for me, I hope, while we are here, to find my employment and recreation chiefly in these.—Wishing you all best Christmas blessings, I remain, dearest sister, ever your affectionate brother, SELBORNE.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

HOTEL D'ANGLETERRE, ROME,
7th January 1888.

I did not say *much* about politics in my last. I will supply that deficiency now.

To form a really correct opinion about the future is, of course, difficult, but mine is, as usual, hopeful. *Time* is, I think, on our side: and it is not probable, either that the alliance between Liberal and Conservative Unionists will be broken by any devices of Gladstone or by any mistakes of the ministry. Of a reunion of "Liberals" on the lines of a Disestablishment policy I cannot, myself, see any sign: but, if such a thing should ever happen, it will not be till after the "Home Rule" question is settled, one way or another. That Gladstone should outlive this Parliament, with physical and mental power still sufficient to lead his party, is possible: but, if my anticipations as to the duration of the Parliament should prove well founded, it is not probable.

The question, on these assumptions, is, what sort of Parliament one elected, say four years hence, is likely to be? I think, more

probably than not, one in which the Conservatives may be stronger than in the present, and the Unionist Liberals nearly as strong.

The Gladstonian Liberals are, in many respects, in a false position on the Irish question. Say and do what they may, they do not make way with the intelligence of the country, or with those classes whose interests are against revolution: and I am firmly convinced that the power of intelligence, and of the instinct of self-preservation is still very great in the country, and likely to increase with time. The revolutionary party has, no doubt, always some advantage in a time of long-continued distress: but the distress which has existed now for a good many years in England, and is not, so far as I can see, likely to be materially mitigated, has this peculiarity, that its incidence has hitherto been upon the more prosperous and naturally more Conservative classes, and very little, if at all, upon the labourers or artisans. It is the distress of redistribution, or wider diffusion, of the total amount of national wealth: not of drying up its springs. It is accomplishing, to a considerable extent, in a natural way, that extension of middle and lower class prosperity, and diminution of territorial, which some would like to bring about by revolutionary or socialistic means.

As to the Home Rule question, I am persuaded that it has not taken much hold of the great body of those "Liberals" who now follow Gladstone, except as the party shibboleth of the moment and by Gladstone's own [illegible]. And unless I greatly deceive myself, the steady adherence of the Liberal Unionists to their General, their readiness to debate the question with their opponents on public platforms, and the contrast between the argumentative spirit in which they do so, and the *persiflage* and personalities of some of the chief speakers on the other side, has told, and will tell. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Gladstone, and a few more, or John Morley, and I should think George Leveson, are quite in earnest. Out of these, Gladstone, as it seems to me, is the only man who is a real power, and he is continually shocking the moral sense of those who have not lost their heads by the lengths to which he goes in inventing things absolutely impossible, and stimulating a lawless, destructive, and revolutionary spirit. The political question is, what will happen when he is gone? Some people

say we shall not, in that case, be much troubled about Home Rule; and that terms of alliance will be patched up between both denominations of Liberals, substantially on Unionist principles. But I doubt the possibility of this happening, for a long time. People are too much committed by what has been going on for the last two years, to be able, without a total loss of credit, to go back again. The loss, therefore, of their leader, and the succession of Rosebery in name, and Harcourt in fact, would leave them with the whole disadvantage of the direction of the bulk of the intelligence and solid interests, and no small portion of the conscience of the nation, without the prestige of Gladstone's name, or the force and impetus of his great personality. Their Irish allies would not suffer them to negotiate any "transaction"; and their Nonconformist allies (though they might perhaps willingly drop "Home Rule" for the sake of Disestablishment, if they could carry Disestablishment more easily or sooner by doing so), would have no sufficient reason to reckon upon that result, to venture upon so scandalous a course. The use which is being made of Irish agitators to move English constituencies is very dangerous to the party which descends to it: it may, perhaps, succeed here and there, where there is a sharp line between "classes" and "masses," and disaffection among the "masses" to the existing order of society; but where this is not the case (and I am persuaded that it is not so generally in the country, any more than it is in London,—London, lately so Radical, and now so strongly and persistently Conservative)—these Irish invaders of English constituencies will disgust many more than they convert. So it seems to have been only this week at Winchester, where Mr. Dillon was brought in, as the guest of the Dean (!) at the Deanery, and with some of the masters of the school supporting him on the platform, to harangue the electors, and to prove the innocence of boycotting, and of the "Plan of Campaign,"—of which he was himself the author. The result has been, to convert a Conservative majority of 350 or thereabouts, at the election of 1886, into one of about 550 at *this* election.

In the meantime the Government, armed with a *permanent* Crimes Act, is making real progress towards the establishment of the authority of the law in Ireland; and those among the

Roman Catholic Clergy who cannot, like Gladstone, interpret wholesale robbery and intimidation as in some way reconcilable with the Ten Commandments, are beginning to hold up their heads and speak words in season for the first principles of social morality. Whether the Pope will help by any declaration on the same side, I doubt, though many here think it probable, as Monsignor Persico, his envoy to Ireland, is known to be strongly opposed to those things which Gladstone justifies or extenuates, and Archbishop Walsh openly encourages. But I see very clearly, from the intercourse which we have already had here with many of the English Roman Catholic bishops and clergy who have come to Rome for the Pope's Jubilee, that *they* are, with hardly an exception, entirely on our side.

I have written too much on these topics to enter now into the Irish question. Of that I can only say, that I am *sure* it cannot be made the cry of a so-called "United Liberal party," without providing a new line of cleavage, quite as serious to say the least as that caused by "Home Rule."—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To ———

Hotel d'Angleterre, Rome, 27th January 1888.

. . . Since I wrote last to you, we have both been presented to the Queen, and I to the King, who, however, speaks no English; and, as my presentation took place at a Court ball last Monday, the occasion was not favourable to any conversation worth repeating. He is a simple-mannered gentleman, now elderly, without any hilliness or pretensions, whom one would probably have liked in a private station, and she is a very charming woman. But I should not think the Royal dignity is, in Italy, a very comfortable one; the King and Queen seem to be without power, even in those matters in which the will of our Queen goes for something in England. The Prime Minister, Crispi, a Sicilian of the "extreme Left" in politics, is for the time absolute dictator, and the King and Queen are compelled to receive at their Court persons whom nobody would think of receiving in England, and who cannot, without some scandal, be treated as immaculate even here.

There is an undercurrent of uneasiness and friction between the clericals and the established government: the former have in Rome (if not elsewhere) a greater degree of moral influence than the "Liberal" politicians like; and it has come into prominence on the present occasion of the Pope's Jubilee. The impression made upon ourselves is, that the Pope's is, morally, the greater of the two powers; and, although I cannot suppose the restoration of the Pope to temporal power to be fulfilled in this stage of the world's history, the absence of a *modus vivendi* between the temporal and spiritual powers, settled upon a definite basis and with a prospect of permanence, is capable (under contingencies not at all improbable, considering the immense military and territorial ambition of Italy) of deranging the civil state and enlarging the security of the present constitutional settlement. We hear that there is no longer a powerful or active Republican party in the State; but those who are of the party of *Italia irredenta* (*i.e.* who want to annex territory now Austrian) are not to be despised, and I think it is extremely likely that Republicanism may be only sleeping, not extinct. The mutual dislike of Italy and France is, fortunately, for the time, an influence adverse to Republicanism. I have been once to the Chamber of Deputies, and once to the Senate; but there was nothing of interest in either of them. In several respects, their Constitution and Rules of Procedure are more conservative than our own. No one can be a Deputy who is not thirty years old; and all Bills are referred for Report to Committees, chosen irrespectively of party, and, if reported against, are practically stopped. The Senate seems to have even less influence, and less practical share in legislation, than our House of Lords; and I am told, by a most intelligent young Italian whom I know, that there is a growing demand for some change in its constitution, which would make it more like that of France. At present, all the Senators are chosen for life —nominally by the King, practically by the Ministers—out of certain defined classes, nineteen (I think) in number.

A week ago I had a long interview (it lasted an hour) with the Pope's Cardinal Secretary of State; and yesterday Sophy and I were admitted to an audience of the Pope himself, which I will describe to you—first saying that I had, and made use

of, the opportunity of explaining *to the Cardinal*, at some length and with much particularity, the *facts* about Ireland, and what I thought their bearings upon those principles of morals and religion in the maintenance of which all true Christians ought to be agreed, without going at all into any of the merely political aspects of the Irish question. All that I said was well understood, and was reported to the Pope. To the Pope himself we were accompanied by the R.C. Bishop of Portsmouth (Virtue), whom we like very much. On this occasion the Pope was himself the chief speaker. He assured us of his sense of the evil of the criminal means, subversive of morality as well as government, which were being used by the Revolutionary party in Ireland, as well as elsewhere; and said, that he had *twice* written to express his disapproval of all such things, and should not hesitate to do so again, and referred to Monseigneur Persico's mission as actuated by the same motives, and as intended to supply him with all necessary information. He added, that he feared his admonitions had been less attended to than they ought, but that it could not be surprising if it was so in Ireland when they were not attended to even in Italy; but that, for all things, time was necessary, and that he felt assured they would have effect in the end. I ventured to observe that I supposed His Holiness' precepts and intentions were *not* disregarded by *Bishops* and *Clergy* in Italy, but that I feared, from all appearances, they must be so in Ireland; and that the interests of morality and religion, in which the Church was vitally concerned, seemed, on that account, to suffer in Ireland in a way to which there was nothing similar elsewhere.

He expressed, in warm terms, his goodwill towards England, and his satisfaction at the manner in which the relations between the Civil Government of our Queen and the Holy See were conducted in Canada, India, and other British territories beyond the United Kingdom; and, referring to his relations to all other (transalpine) European Powers, intimated strongly his opinion that there ought to be similar diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the British Government. I said that, whatever our statesmen might think on the subject, there was at present a popular sentiment and prejudice in England, derived from past events in our history, which could not be

disregarded; and also, that at the present time, if such relations were established, any expression of opinion by His Holiness in favour of morality and order in Ireland might be set aside the more easily, as due to the political pressure of the English Government; and any measures (*e.g.* as to Roman Catholic Education) which any English Government might think it wise and just to propose would be more easily opposed, and perhaps defeated, if it could be said that they were concessions negotiated at Rome. To this he replied, that those who governed England ought to be able to rise superior to difficulties of this sort; and he referred, not without humour, to what he had read in some of the papers, as to people in England who talked about our Queen forfeiting her throne by the recent courtesies interchanged between her and the Pope.

His manner to us was paternal, and most gracious. He made me sit down by him on one side, and Sophy on the other; the Bishop, who introduced us, standing. He held our hands in his own, several times, and for a considerable time together; and, when we took our leave, he rose from his chair, accompanied us to the door of his apartment, and gave us his blessing.—Believe me, etc., SELBORNE.

TO THE BISHOP OF ST. ALBANS

ROME, 28*th January* 1888.

MY DEAREST FRIEND—I was alarmed by a report of your health which I received from Charles Wordsworth: but since then a letter from Lucy to my Sophy has been more reassuring to us. You and I have both come to a time of life (and I trust by God's grace, to a state of mind also) at which we may well be content, unless it were for the sake of others, to rest from our labours, whenever God calls upon us to do so. But for the sake, both of those whom we love, and of the work (whatever it may be), which God may still have appointed to be done by us on earth, we should also be content to live, and not to repress the natural desire of life.

Writing this to you from a distance, when I cannot go to see you, all the past comes back to me,—our early days of friendship at Oxford, and your constant affection to me and

mine, unbroken by a single cloud, and unaffected by the few differences of opinion which there have ever been between us. I can assure you, that your friendship has always been to me—I doubt not to many others too—an αὔρα φέροιτο ἀπὸ χρηστῶν τόπων ὑγίειαν[1]: it has done me more good, than you can ever know in this world, or than I can express in words. God grant that it may last for ever: not here only, while we both remain here, but in that better and more enduring world, on the threshold of which we both now stand.—Ever yours most affectionately,

SELBORNE.

To ———

HOTEL BRISTOL, NAPLES, 10th *February* 1888.

. . . I am sorry that —— has become a little bit of a thorn in our sides, not the less trying because there cannot be any reasonable explanation of or cause for it. We will, however, never forget that, if —— seems to behave strangely and unkindly, there is but one return for it to be made, and that is by asking for God's blessing upon —— even more earnestly than if —— were always reasonable and kind.

. . . I have much enjoyed my first sight of Naples, and a few hours spent at Pompeii to-day and in the Museum yesterday. The wonderful interest of the disinterred city was enhanced by the beauty of the scenery all around it—the remoter Apennines again coming in to form the background inland with their snows. Both in the Museum and at Pompeii itself the specimens of ancient decorative painting greatly interested me, and parts, especially the head of Chiron and young Achilles in the picture of Chiron teaching Achilles music, seemed to me artistically much better than I should have expected. On the other hand, I thought the arabesque decorative much *inferior* to what I would have expected, and it was a surprise to me to find only one example (the Adonis left on the wall of the large house in Pompeii) of a large and really elaborate picture in fresco.

[1] Plato, *Republic*, lib. iii. cap. 12:

"A breeze bringing health from wholesome places."

TO THE REV. G. HORSLEY PALMER

NAPLES.

. . . The mosaics are most interesting; especially the large one (in the Museum here) of Alexander and Darius; and the household utensils, etc., attracted me greatly. The human remains, too, in the little Museum at Pompeii itself, are wonderful in their preservation, not of forms only, but of muscular development, and (in at least two instances) of feature. They show how terrible the calamity must have been.

I cannot help mentioning, in connection with the Darius mosaic, Bazzi's magnificent fresco of Alexander and the mother and wife of Darius, which I saw at the beginning of this week, for the first time, in the Farnesina palace. It struck me as one of the very finest pictures in Rome.

We enjoyed our time in Rome much. We did not, on the whole, over-fatigue ourselves with sight-seeing; and we went a great deal into very pleasant society. . . . The interview with the Pope lasted fifty minutes; the Pope talking partly French and partly Italian: I understood him very well. He made us sit down by him; often took our hands into his own; and gave us his blessing, for ourselves and all our family. . . .—Your most affectionate brother, SELBORNE.

To Palermo and its many interests we gave our first ten days; we visited Girgenti, Catania, and Syracuse, and rested for ten days more at Taormina, with the snowy dome of Etna in full view, and the beautiful remains of the Greek Theatre at our doors. We returned by steamer from Messina, stayed a few days at Castellamare and La Cava, and from those places again saw Pompeii and Pæstum. Then we went to Amalfi, where we spent ten days among the cliffs and crags, lodged in the old Capuchin convent, now a

hotel. A few more days were given to Naples, Herculaneum, and Pompeii, and we made the ascent of Vesuvius in the worst weather possible. As we stood upon the edge of the crater nothing could be seen but a sea of thick cloud, yet I thought it worth the labour, if only to see the fields and ridges of black lava left by old eruptions, and the covering of ashes on the cone.

After two nights' rest at Rome (where Wilfreda and George Biddulph left us) we went with George Gordon to Florence. Several delightful days were spent there in the galleries and churches, and it was an addition to our pleasure that our Queen, whom we saw during one of her drives, was also there, evidently enjoying herself greatly. Venice was our next point, where we spent Easter, and were for ten days the guests of Sir Henry and Lady Layard, seeing all that was best worth seeing in Venice, under the best possible auspices. There we met Sir Arthur Gordon, with whom we travelled as far as Milan on our way homewards. We broke our journey at Rheims to see its Cathedral and that of the neighbouring city of Laon. Much repair was going on at both places: whatever other faults the Republican Government of France might have, they did not appear to neglect the fabrics of the greater churches.

I was thus enabled, in my old age, to revive the impressions made nearly half a century before by my first visit to Italy with my brother Edwin, and to compare them with the new order of things which had since arisen. I had never, since 1846, been in Florence

or Venice, and only once (and then for less than a week) at Rome. Everything south of Rome was new to me. The comparison was not unfavourable to the new order. The people generally, though heavily taxed, seemed contented with their Government. The prosperity of the provincial capitals did not seem less than when they had foreign garrisons and petty Courts. If vandalism had invaded some quarters of Rome, the wealth and population had enormously increased. Naples had been brought into a good sanitary condition, and crowds of idle *lazzaroni* no longer infested its streets. If the hand of the spoiler had fallen upon some venerable ecclesiastical institutions, the aspect of the clergy was happier, as if their zeal had been increased and their lives purified by the loss of temporal power.

To the Rev. G. Horsley Palmer

Hotel des Palmes, Palermo, 20*th February* 1888.

. . . We *half* saw Pompeii, and the Museum more than half, and were enchanted with what we saw in both. The ancient paintings in both interested me very much. They are not, as a rule, in a much higher style of art than may be seen on the walls of many modern Italian houses, but to this low estimate there are exceptions. I was greatly interested to see the vignette landscapes with old Roman houses represented in them. They gave me a better notion and a higher opinion of the effect of the ancient Roman architecture than I had before. We crossed on Saturday to Palermo, and instantly on our arrival we seemed to have passed from winter to a warm and genial spring. Palermo is a picturesque city of 200,000 inhabitants. It extends in crescent form round the shores of a large bay and retreats for some distance into a valley full of orange and lemon groves, with

olives here and there lying at the feet of mountains of fair height and varied outline, which form, in a semicircle, the background of the whole bay. In all the gardens there are palms, New Zealand pines, and full-grown bamboos and indiarubber trees. Some of the buildings are very interesting, particularly the Cathedral, a large Church in a peculiar mixed style, partly Romanesque, Moorish, or Byzantine, and partly Renaissance. (I have sketched an outline on the other side.) It contains some ancient and most interesting tombs of Norman kings and queens—massive sarcophagi of dark red porphyry. There is also in the Royal palace a very beautiful chapel, of which the interior is covered every inch with the richest mosaics of the Norman times; and about four miles off there is another Cathedral, also inlaid with marble and mosaics, in a little town called Monte Reale, built by one of the Norman kings.

AMALFI, 13th March 1888.

On Saturday we went from La Cava to Pæstum, and saw the famous temples (beautiful indeed they are, surpassing all that we saw of the same kind in Sicily) to great advantage. Yesterday we came on here, and saw the magnificent coast scenery all the way from Vietri (whence Salerno is well seen to the east) to Amalfi very well. It is broken up in the most romantic way into cliffs, crags, and ravines: the habitations of men thickly strewn all about, and here and there old castles and churches crowning the rocks. Our hotel is a disused convent, perched half-way up the cliff: the only drawback being that you must climb on going out or coming in, as often as you leave the house.

The most beautiful parts of Sicily which we saw are Palermo, Taormina, and Messina: the *Etna* views most glorious, both from Taormina and from the other side. *Aragonites* were most interesting both at Taormina and Girgenti and at Syracuse. The *scenery* in the interior of the island is disappointing.

12th March 1888.

We left Amalfi this morning and drove to Salerno and visited the tomb of the great Hildebrand, Gregory VII. I think you know the coast? More delightful and magnificent scenery

it would be impossible to conceive. The hills inland are of limestone, much dislocated, and crystallised into a coarse sort of marble by volcanic action. They are a series of insulated, craggy rocks, with steep sides, accessible only by difficult mountain paths, or steps cut more or less rudely in the face of the rock; with basalt (sometimes in columnar form), protruding in many places through the limestone, and forming castellated crags, aiguilles, and conical pillars, of all sorts of fantastic forms. Wherever man can place his foot, human habitations are scattered about; wherever cultivation is possible, there are terraced orange and lemon gardens. Picturesque buildings climb and cover the sides and tops of the cliffs; sometimes (as at La Scala and Ravello) whole villages, and fine churches in places which it is a labour to climb to, and to which no wheeled vehicle can ever come.

In three or four successive gorges which divide the hills, and are swept by streams which turn many mills, lies (reckoning from N.W. to S.E.) Amalfi and its suburbs; Atrani, Minori, Maiori; it is difficult to say which is the most romantic. The gorge is often so narrow that there is no regular street, and you climb about steep and intricate staircases and peep through archways where the water which turns the mills rushes past you, sometimes splashing over you, and winding in and out (always upward) upon the side of the stream; sometimes crossing it by the most primitive bridges imaginable. The shops and cooking-houses arrangements are all out of doors and unlike anything elsewhere. It is entirely out of the world, and the people are as simple as the place is romantic, but they are beggars to an extent which is a nuisance.

There is a very picturesque and interesting cathedral which Dos and Sophy occupied themselves with sketching. . . .—Believe me, ever yours most affectionately, SELBORNE.

Arthur Gordon followed us to England; where he did not remain long, but soon returned to his government of Ceylon. He was visited, at the beginning of 1889, with the same calamity which had fallen upon me; his wife was taken from him, whom all

who knew her admired and loved. His term of government came to an end in the spring of the present year, 1890; and with it he closed a career of twenty-nine years' useful and honourable public service. His society will make happier what yet remains to me of life.

CHAPTER XXXIII

LETTERS

1888–1889

I WAS one of fourteen, who, on the 9th of June 1888, when the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred by the University of Cambridge upon the eldest son of the Prince of Wales (afterwards Duke of Clarence), in the presence of both his parents and all his sisters, had the honour of receiving from that University the same distinction. Among those with whom I was associated on that occasion were Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister and Chancellor of my own University, and two of his ablest colleagues[1] in the Government; the two representatives of the University of Cambridge in Parliament; and others very eminent in the State, in literature, and in science.

After my return home in 1888, I had a serious attack of illness, partly in consequence of acting as

[1] Mr. Goschen and Mr. Arthur Balfour; Mr. Raikes and Mr. (now Sir G. G.) Stokes; Lord Rosebery, Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Acton, Lord Rayleigh, Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Frederick Abel, Professor Adams, and Professor Cayley.

Chairman of a Royal Commission on University Education for London, the duties of which proved harder than I had expected. Since that illness, I have found it necessary to give myself more rest.[1]

To Lady Laura Ridding

30 Portland Place, *Trinity Sunday*, 1888.

I cannot tell you how much I feel for you in your present anxiety about your most dear husband. We have been thinking of him all day, and we shall wait for to-morrow's news most eagerly. It is not for us to judge what may be most for God's service on earth, but certainly he has been doing excellent service, and we may be permitted to hope and pray, not only that God will preserve his precious life, but that he may soon be restored to health and strength so as to be able to go on with the duties which he has performed so well.

May the same gracious help and comfort be given to both of you now and always! I am glad that dear Mary is with you.—Ever your most affectionate Father, Salisbury.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

Hatfield, Hertfordshire, 15th *October* 1888.

I have no doubt Sidney has told you more than enough about my illness. It was quite a sudden collapse, of which the first sign was on the 3rd, and the full measure on the 4th August, not exactly of the same sort as my illness in 1881, and yet, probably, more or less akin to it. For nearly a month the

---

[1] Since this was written, Lord Salisbury, as Chancellor, has conferred upon me the post of High Steward of the University of Oxford, one of honour without labour; and it is a pleasure to me to close my days in such a connection with my University. Lord Selborne served in Appeals up to the end, putting himself in the Lord Chancellor's service; and he also took part in the business of the House of Lords regularly up to 1893.

prostration was complete, and I could do absolutely nothing. As soon as I was thought able to dispense with regular doctor's visits I came here, and have been, ever since, slowly regaining strength. All, however, that I can even yet do in the way of *walking* is to get as far as our Church and back once on a Sunday, and I am not yet permitted to get up till 9.30 in the morning. I cannot confidently say whether I shall *ever* be quite as strong again (for walking exercise, etc.) as I was before August, but I do not give up the hope of it. In other respects, I should really pronounce myself now quite well, and I have no doubt I shall be able to go up to London for such occasions as may seem to make it necessary when Parliament meets. One effect (good or bad, as the case may be, but inevitable) has been to disable me altogether from all platform speaking this autumn; and also, to prevent my taking part in the debates of the House of Lords, in the last week before the adjournment, on some important subjects on which it was desired that I should speak, and on which I fully intended to do so. The most curious thing about this illness, considering its nature, is that there were absolutely *no* premonitory signs, and that I was not at all sensible of having done too much, as my family and friends assume that I *must* have done. But, enough of this: a man approaching the end of his seventy-sixth year has much more cause to be grateful for the mercy which raises him up again from a bed, than surprised at any breakdown which may happen to him.

. . . You saw, perhaps, the contradiction given by me in the *Times* of the 21st September (with the concurrent testimony of six of my former colleagues) to an extraordinary statement of Gladstone's in the *Nineteenth Century*, in which his zeal for the whitewashing of Parnell made him go out of his way to attribute to the Cabinet of 1882 an "unanimous judgment," exonerating Parnell from all "association with crime." Gladstone wished to get leave from the Queen to support his statement by the production of some documents not otherwise producible: he asked me to concur in his request, which I was quite willing to do, feeling sure that the documents if produced would *not* support his statement. But the Queen (finding no precedent for such a permission under such circumstances) did not consider that it ought to be given unless for some purpose of parliamentary explanation.

As for Gladstone's general course, to comment upon it would

only be to repeat what I have often before said. He seems to me to have quite lost his head, as far as public morality is concerned, and although all the leading men on his side profess to agree with him, Harcourt is the only one of them who goes equal lengths,—Rosebery and Trevelyan following at a very great distance. I am not sure that the moral responsibility of those who show more respect for themselves and others is not quite as great; for they have not the excuse of any blind enthusiasm.

It is very difficult to judge, with any certainty, whether the Unionists are likely to hold their ground or not. I hear nothing myself from which I should infer the contrary. . . .—Ever most affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

P.S.—Oxford is in consternation at Edward Talbot's acceptance of the Vicarage of Leeds.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF MAGDALEN (WARREN)

PLAXTOL, PETERSFIELD, 21st October 1888.

I have to thank you very much for your most kind letter, and to assure you that it is a great disappointment to me to be absent from you on so interesting an occasion. Since you think that your Society might be disposed to receive a few words from me in writing, to show them I am present with them in spirit though not allowed to be so in person, I should like to assure them that there is no son of Magdalen by whom the desire expressed in the words "Floreat Magdalena" is more sincerely felt. I had not, indeed, the privilege of belonging to Magdalen in my undergraduate days, nor of residing there very long as a Fellow; but I am not the less sensible, on that account, of my obligations to the College: and more than one of my very near and dear relations were, from the beginning of their Oxford course, members of it: and, if I may judge from their characters through life, Magdalen then even produced men who were "fit, though few." I had always a great admiration for the Society, and for the magnificence of the Foundation, and for that championship of Law in which it took the lead of all other colleges, and contributed more, perhaps, than is always understood, to the securities of the liberties of our country. But I longed to see the day when its "few" should cease to be few,

and at the same time be fitter than ever; and that day has now come. It is a pleasure to all your friends, and may well (I think) be a source of legitimate pride to yourself, that, as the name of your greatest predecessor, Bishop Hough, is associated with the historical event which is chief among the former honours of Magdalen, so your own, both as Tutor and as President, will be always associated with its recent development, and with the place, worthy of the splendour of the Foundation, which it has now taken in the University as a seat of learning, and, I trust, of religion too. It had already great names in both respects: not Hough only, but Humphrey, and Horne, and Routh. May it flourish and abound for ever in many more; and in it, may learning be never divorced from true Christian religion, or from that study of the Divine Word which the Founder, in his Statutes, described as the "Mother and Mistress of all Knowledge." Such, my dear President, is the wish and prayer for Magdalen of, yours ever faithfully, SELBORNE.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 22*nd November* 1888.

. . . You want to know whatever can be known about the Bishop of Lincoln's case. All that is known yet is, that the Order in Council, consequent upon the Appeal to the Judicial Committee at the end of July, *requires* the Archbishop to hear and adjudicate upon the complaint, and that the Archbishop will do so. He will be assisted by some of his co-provincial Bishops as assessors, and to choose them (unless he invites them all to assist him) must be a matter of some difficulty. He wrote to ask my opinion as to whether they should be of his own province or not. I thought that, although there might be no *law* to fetter his choice, there ought to be so. I infer from what he said, either that the idea of asking all the Bishops of the Province to sit with him had not suggested itself, or had not commended itself to him, and I did not suggest it. The precedent (for there is only one) is for either five or six assessors; and, if he invited all, there might be some risk of confusion between the judicial and the synodical idea. He is likely, I think, to ask the three of his Province (the Bishops of London, Ely, and Salisbury) who were assessors of the

judicial committee when the case came before that tribunal, act: whom he may add to these three I do not yet know.[1] .

I turn, half unwillingly, to politics. You have, no doubt, re Gladstone's Birmingham speeches. One does not like to c things by their ordinary names, when *he* is concerned: but t *untruths* of that speech were astonishing. He began by point out, as instances of inequality between the laws of England a Ireland which nobody could deny, two supposed provisions of "Crimes Act," the existence of which we have all been deny till we are hoarse,—one of them (for which he alleged, absolut without foundation, the authority of Chief Baron Palles), be in direct contradiction *to the very words of the Act itself.* And went on to allege a difference in the laws of the two countrie to prison discipline, on points in which those laws are (almost the letter) the same. And so on, as to other things, all through speech. I can only think of one explanation: viz. that, hav taken up the cause of Parnell and his followers, he accepts unquestionable truth, all that any of them say; never atten ing to verify for himself either fact or law; and never read (or certainly not reading with the most ordinary attention patience) anything which is said or written by anybody on other side. His move in the House of Commons, this we against any continuance of advances under Lord Ashbour Act till there is some legislation for relief of Irish tenants fr arrears of rent (of a kind which he never himself proposed), been rather a good thing than otherwise: for it has shown, t there is a point, beyond which he cannot carry some of younger and more generous spirits among his supporters w him, in subserviency to those Irish politicians, whose masterpi and instrument he had condescended to become.

. . . I wonder how many people there are who do *not* fee you do, about the seeming waste, to a great extent, of their liv "unfulfilled intentions, disappointed hopes, unrealised proje and unsatisfied ambitions"? If I were required to go i "projects" and "intentions" I might perhaps find that the r

[1] The Assessors were the Bishops of London (Temple), W chester (Harold Browne), Oxford (Stubbs), Salisbury (Wordswor Rochester (Thorold), and, on the retirement of Bishop Harold Brov the Bishop of Hereford (Atlay).

failure has been in my case more in the breaking down of my hopes from and confidence in others, than in deviation, on my own part, from settled or seriously entertained purposes of life. I think that such men as your father, Sir James Graham, and Sidney Herbert, must have felt as you express yourself. I do *not* think so of Cardwell, or of Lord Palmerston, whose aspirations were perhaps more limited. I do *not* think so of Lord John Russell, who was always on too good terms with himself.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *6th December* 1888.

. . . I do not share your apprehensions, as yet, about the County Government Act. In most English counties, I think, the country gentlemen are likely to hold their own, as long as they choose to do so: and, although in some places where the Radical party is strong, politics may be brought in more than they ought to be, I see no signs of men unfit for the work of county government being likely to be chosen. There may be (probably there will be) a good many members of the substantial middle class; but I cannot regard that as an evil. Men of that class have a substantial interest in good local government, and in reasonable economy: nor do I think them less likely than the squirearchy to know what they are about. There may, of course, be dangers in the future, that of petty jobbing here and there, by the appointment of salaried officers for favour, not fitness. The remoter possible dangers are (1) that power may come into the hands of a class, too poor to feel taxation themselves, and not unwilling to lay heavy burdens upon their richer neighbours; and (2) that the organisation of county-government might be worked for revolutionary objects. But these dangers seem to me at present *very* remote. What may happen, if a revolutionary tide sets in strongly in *other* ways, no one can say; but I do not think that the general affairs of counties were altogether well administered by the magistracy. They were in too *few* hands, and transacted in too summary a way, and in too short a time, for all to be done (*e.g.* as to sanitary matters, and the execution of some classes of laws, such as those against floods and pollution of streams, etc.) which may really be wanted, outside the routine of police, lunatic asylums, roads and bridges, etc.

It is not, of course, possible to separate wholly, in politics, one

thing from another: and I cannot wonder that, with the other causes of anxiety which we certainly have at present, this experiment should be viewed with distrust. I hope I exaggerate those other causes of anxiety; but it seems to me, that the recklessness with which our former friends resort to *all sorts of means* to promote their Irish policy is rapidly doing an extent of mischief, of which the bad effects may be permanent, whatever the issue of that Irish policy may be; and the consequences of which upon public and private interests, at home and abroad, may be most serious. Putting entirely aside the danger to threatened institutions (such as the Church, the House of Lords, or the Monarchy), and the danger of socialistic legislation against property, the alliance of Statesmen with open unmannerly blackguardism, in England as well as in Ireland; the degradation of the House of Commons, both by unrestrained insolence within it, and a continual running agitation out of doors against its authority; and the increasing disposition of the *soi-disant* "Liberal" minority to use every weapon, including the obstruction of necessary supplies, for the purpose of harassing the majority and the Government, are tremendous evils, whichever *party* may in the long run prevail. . . .—Yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

To Goldwin Smith, Esq.

Confidential.

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 27th *December* 1888.

I see that I have let a month pass by since the *date* of your letter of the 25th November, without answering: for which I am very sorry, but I took time to consider, as the judicial phrase is. . . . The result of my consideration is, that I cannot undertake to write a paper about Gladstone's political career for the *Forum*. I sacrificed to him, I fear, in time past, some opportunities of being useful to my country, which I perhaps might otherwise have had. I cannot accuse myself of having done so at the time from unworthy motives, and yet I feel, as if having done so, I must so far abide by that sacrifice, as not to permit of my way to cast reproaches upon him. I think this could be going out of my way. To you it would be otherwise: you could do it, without feeling any embarrassment from the past.

That Gladstone's present [illegible] a natural development of *some-*

thing in his character, I do not doubt; although it was as abrupt and extraordinary a change as possibly could be, so far as the "policy" (so called) and the means used to promote it, are concerned. Still I think it quite possible, that the incubations of this extraordinary birth had been going on secretly (in that mind of his, which Archbishop Whately compared to a *cul-de-sac* when he was young), much longer than ever his most intimate personal or political friends suspected. . . .

If to us at home it is inconceivable, how he can pass (considering the means he uses for his ends, and his apparent incapacity of condescending to any patient examination of questions of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, before pronouncing upon them with violence) for the "supreme conscience" and "supreme intelligence" of this country, still more wonderful does it seem, that the same notion should lay hold of any people's minds in America, where passions and revolutionary projects, on such a subject, ought to have no place. But I suppose they are dazzled by the glitter of his intellectual and oratorical performances, and do not look closely into any details, or care much, what the consequences to this country may be.

If a tendency to make government impossible, and to reduce all things to confusion and anarchy, is *liberalism, his* may be a *progressive liberalism*, otherwise not.—Believe me, ever affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

Blackmoor, Petersfield, *Sunday, 27th January* 1889.

What shall I say to you? What can it be, except that I have gone through the same suffering and trial, and have been enabled to endure it by the same strength—not my own—which will, I trust, be given to you. Therefore I know what it is, and how little it admits of words of *human* comfort. Life in this world can never be the same to you again; to me it never has been. In some respects I can fancy that Lady Gordon was to you just what my own dear wife was to me,—*helpful* about everything, small and great, so as to relieve you from very much of the ordinary cares of life. But as to this, as well as everything else, there is one resource which never fails: the

promise, "Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you." It is not by making the sense of the separation, and all that it entails in this world, less acute, that the promise is fulfilled; it is by making us able to possess our souls in patience, and to bear it, as a part (the heaviest) of our probation here. I used to think that I saw an example of this in your father, who had this cross sent him earlier in his life. Next to this gift of patience, is the love of our children, and the joy which we may yet have in them; the cross is theirs as well as ours, to each in ways more or less the same, more or less different; the greatest difference of all (and one which may help to comfort us) being, that to them the light of *this* world is not, as to us, extinguished, though for the present darkened; *they* have a future here as well as elsewhere, before them, and by a natural law, for which it is impossible to be too thankful, will find earthly happiness in following it, provided they have grace to do so with Christian minds, and not to "*break faith with those whom they have laid in earth's dark chambers with a Christian's hope.*" These are words of Wordsworth, which have always seemed to me good for such as we are to remember, when our faith is in any way tried. If to *us* no *such* future is in store on this side of the grave, we may be thankful, even for that too, because it may enable us to fix our minds more steadily upon the *better* future, which we are ourselves approaching, and to which those whom we have most loved, and with whom our lives were most bound up here, have (one after another) led the way before us; and now, at last, one who was identified with ourselves in the closest and most absolute ways possible upon earth. No doubt, we shall too often be weighed down, again and again, by the pressure of sense upon spirit, and by realising the fact that we can never "know what we shall be," or understand the nature and conditions of the communion of saints in the other life, while we are here; but we may hope to feel, more than before, and more than if our hearts were still set upon the things of this world, that communion with "the spirits of the just made perfect," in the reality of which *even now* and *even here*, we are—not permitted only, but taught—to believe.

You will, at least, not have your present sorrow aggravated, as mine was, by the dissolution, while it was still fresh, of all the

other bonds (except that of domestic love, and such friendship as your own has been to me), which had before given interest to this life.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 11*th April* 1889.

The newspapers have told us that you have given a public contradiction to a report that you were going to resign your office before the time at which you would have done so, if you had not been left alone. In this I think you are quite right. The way in which God most generally mitigates our afflictions, and enables us, instead of repining, to bear them as we ought, is certainly that of *work*, the *work* (whatever it may be) to which His Providence has called us.

Yesterday was the fourth anniversary of the great sorrow of my own life, which makes me, in an especial sense, your brother in affliction. I will not, as some do, talk of *time* as healing such affliction.

What I grieve for most is that, as the "*sanguis hebet, frigentque effetæ in corpore vires,*"[1] the *spirit*, as well as the body, is liable to flag, and the darkness of the "glass," through which we now see the eternal realities, to thicken, instead of seeming to get more clear. When the consciousness of this oppresses me (as it sometimes does), I find comfort in thinking of St. John's words which, while they express *his own* feeling and experience, seem to be especially addressed to such a state of mind, "Beloved now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is!"

I do not know how you feel as to the inseparableness of the belief in a conscious reunion in the future state of ourselves, if partakers of God's mercy, and those whom we have most loved, from the very idea of one's own existence and personal identity in that state. With me it is more easy for the clouds of the flesh and the weakness of the spirit to obscure the *latter* idea than the former; but there are, I know, some people, not wanting in faith, with whom it has been otherwise; and yet I should have thought that, when the natural instinct is supported by such passages in Scripture as the parable of

[1] Virgil, *Æn.* v. 396.

Lazarus and the rich man, our Lord's words from the Cross to the penitent thief, and what St. Peter says about our Lord preaching to the spirits in "prison," that ought to be enough. I do not trouble myself with thinking of (what I may call) *physical* difficulties; we do not know enough of the conditions of that state of existence to tell what may be our relations to *place;* doubtless all will not be in one place, according to our present conceptions, but there is room enough in the physical universe, which we see with our eyes, for them all, to an infinity of number: and, even if one is in one place, and one in another, it requires no great effort of imagination to believe that the sense of *presence* and the power of communication may be wonderfully extended. If I, in England, can communicate as I am now doing with you in Ceylon, and feel, in doing so, a real exercise and enjoyment of the love which we bear to each other, how much more, in what *must* be a higher and happier state of existence? It would *not* be higher or happier if *love* were not fuller and more perfect in it.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 17*th July* 1889.

. . . You said in your last letter that you should like me to give some of the reasons which make the idea of mutual recognition after death inseparable, to my mind, from the belief in immortality. I cannot dissociate the idea of immortality from that of consciousness; or the idea of personal identity, which is involved in consciousness, from memory. Taking all these ideas together, they appear to me to make recognition *necessary*, if in that state it is *possible*. Difficulties as to place and space do not (as I have said before) affect my mind. I suppose that finite beings, in the future as well as in *this* state, must be subject to conditions of place; but these conditions may admit of the communication of spirits both before and after their investment with what the Scripture calls spiritual *bodies* in ways here unknown, even if (as seems to me much more probable than it does to you) the places (the "many mansions") assigned to them should be in some of those heavenly spheres which we now in part see. I think this probable, not so much because the word "*heaven*" primarily means the infinite physical space above and around us, in which those spheres and our own earth

have their several orbits, but because I cannot but believe those spheres to be inhabited, or destined to be inhabited in the future. As to the prospect of the natural dissolution of them all, no scientific argument which I have ever met with would lead me to believe in it, nor do I think that any passage in Scripture needs such an interpretation. If, however, you or any one else think otherwise on that point, there would still be no difficulty in the connection of other conditions of place adapted to immortal spiritual bodies (though why these spheres should not be so adapted I myself cannot see), and of recognition of friends under any such conditions.

You suggest that there may be no need of any creature-love, where spiritual beings will realise, as perfectly as is possible, the presence and the love of God Himself. I should not dare to say that there was *need* if I did not think that such creature-love was God's own will and appointment. But this, I must say, it seems to me already to be. This life must be an *education* for another, if the fundamental Christian doctrine of "life and immortality" is not rejected; and love, not of God alone, but of our fellow-men, especially those with whom we are in certain relations, is the best part of this life. It seems to be the natural, as it is certainly the designed, consequence of these higher faculties, moral and intellectual, which distinguish us from the lower creatures; and I cannot conceive of any identity (however greatly superior our future conditions may be to our present) of individual lives without those faculties. Their improvement and elevation and purification from the evil which here accompanies them cannot surely obliterate their highest attainments and best fruits. The thirteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians speaks of the love of man for man in its general aspect as *the most excellent way.* Our Lord also said, "*If ye love me, love one another,*" showing that, so far from the love of God being in its perfection exclusive of the love of men, the two are, according to His will and appointment, inseparably connected. And St. John says, "*If we love not our brother, whom we have seen, how shall we love God whom we have not seen?*" No doubt it is said of God that in the other life we may (in some true sense) "*see Him as He is*"; but it is also said of human love (ἀγάπη, translated "charity") in the chapter of St.

Paul just mentioned, that it "*never faileth*," and this evidently is meant of the future life, when faith will be turned into sight, and hope into enjoyment.

Those parts of our Lord's parabolic, and also of His direct teaching which refer to the future life, seem to me to abound in indications that it will be a social life. As to the parabolic or figurative teaching (most notably the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, and also that of the talents, etc.), I will only say that I cannot think it would have been put into a form to encourage such an expectation if it were not true, and involved in the doctrine of immortality with which He comforted the sisters of Lazarus in their mourning. When He speaks of the Apostles in the final reappearance "*sitting upon thrones and judging the twelve tribes of Israel*" the language is figurative, but there is something direct also. The same may be said of St. Luke, chap. xxi. verse 15, where He said, in answer to the Sadducees, "*but in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels*." He seems to me to imply the continuance of love and recognition, only purified from that which is "*of the earth, earthly*," and under a new condition of being. Are not the angels revealed to us as "*ministering spirits sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation*"? The idea of such a spirit implies personal relations to those to whom they are appointed to minister as well as to God.

It would be a great omission if I did not refer to the recognition of the social character of our nature in the whole idea and construction of the Church, which is heavenly as well as earthly, according to the language of the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Hebrews, and to the passage in the 12th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which I have from my youth thought one of the most sublime passages of Scripture—"Ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect," etc.

I could, perhaps, say a good deal more, as to the way in which the social character is stated in the 25th chapter of St. Matthew and such passages in the Book of the

Revelation, as chapter vii. verse 9; chapter xxi. verse 24, etc.; and the passage in St. Peter as to our Lord's descent into Hades, and proclaiming His redemption to "the spirits in prison." But I have written as much as the post will conveniently carry.

27th February 1890.

It is no surprise to me that anything which can be stated in the shape of argument, as to our future recognition of each other, should seem inconclusive in itself; the ground of that hope lies too deep for argument, and my powers (or perhaps any man's) are inadequate to put it in a way which may not, at each step, raise questions. But the same may be said (apart from faith founded on a belief in Revelation) of all arguments as to the immortality of the *ego*, the soul or spirit of man, or even as to its existence, except as a force or property connected with or resulting from a material organism; both which are either denied, or at least said to have no rational ground for any positive belief in them by agnostics. The fundamental facts of consciousness, and of the moral sense (agreeing on these points with what we learn from Revelation), lose rather than gain force, when we attempt to analyse them or demonstrate them by any analytical processes. The idea of future recognition (*i.e.* the capacity for it in principle, and the possibility of it in fact) is one which I cannot separate, and can hardly even distinguish, from my belief on those points. Of course it does not follow from this that each one of us *will*, in his own particular place in the future state, be re-united to those with whom (while he is here) re-union seems to be almost necessary for perfect happiness. Our own sins and shortcomings, to say nothing of any other possibilities, might stand in the way of that; it is, therefore, a thing to be prayed for, rather than too presumptuously taken for granted; but, constituted as we are now, this hope does appear to me to enter essentially into our natural, reasonable, and divinely-taught idea of the happiness which those who have any ground at all of Christian hope may look forward to; and I cannot think it would be so far implanted and encouraged in us, if it were not a true and real part of the divine dispensation.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 1st *March* 1889.

The newest thing is the *fiasco*, in the trial before the Special Commission, of the Parnell and other letters, published by the *Times*. To all, who did not know before by what crooked ways newspapers get their intelligence of things not intended to be made public, it must appear very surprising that the *Times* should have placed so much confidence in the genuineness of documents obtained in the way that these were, without searching to the very bottom into the sources from which they came. My explanation of this is that they have been accustomed to get, in ways not dissimilar, much really authentic information, and so have got into the habit of not being nice or punctilious about the bargains they make for such purposes, and making no difficulty about conditions of secrecy. I have known John Walter well for a great many years; and I am perfectly sure that he would have been incapable of publishing those documents as genuine if he had not been thoroughly convinced that they were so. I have no doubt that they stood the test of comparison with real letters of the persons to whom they were attributed as completely as anything could; and I am bound to add, that the internal evidence seemed to me (as no doubt it did to him) to be very much against the idea of their being forged. Only two of them were really compromising at all; and neither of those was compromising in such a manner or degree as one would have thought probable, if they had been forged to connect the persons supposed to have written them with criminal acts. To say that (of two murdered men) one only got his deserts, in a private and confidential letter, might be revolting to the feelings of those not engaged in the sort of warfare against law, in which Parnell certainly *was* engaged; but it was very far short of furnishing evidence that the writer had instigated, or would in any case give his countenance to, the perpetration either of that or of any other similar crime. The other of the two letters (supposed to be written from Kilmainham, and speaking of "*making it hot for Forster*"), was of less importance still; the Attorney-General did not contend that it pointed to murder, or anything of that kind, but admitted that it might, and probably did, mean only increased activity in the campaign

against law in which the "League" was beyond question engaged, and which it was Forster's duty and endeavour to withstand.

So much I have said in justice to Walter and his coadjutors. But I am equally desirous, on this as on all other subjects, to do justice to all men, and to accept my rule of justice from the investigations and decisions of courts of law. So viewing the matter it must (I think) be taken that these documents have been established to be forgeries; although it would be going much further than the actual state of the evidence warrants, to say that we know the whole truth about them, or that there are not some things as yet unexplained, which any one desirous of knowing the whole truth about them would have wished to have cleared up. Taking them, therefore, as all really forgeries, and in any case not merely copies, falsely passed off as originals, from any letters signed by Parnell, etc., which ever had existence, I say, in favour of Parnell, Egan, and Davitt, that I am glad that truth should prevail; and that, if persons intending to serve what (in my inmost belief) is an honest and good cause, have been led—by whatever means—into the use of fabricated evidence, its falsehood should be exposed, be the consequences what they may. In *reason* there *ought* to be no consequences affecting any public interest; but it is quite possible that there *may* be such consequences, from the unreasonableness of large numbers of men, and the unscrupulousness of others, who will certainly spare no effort to make political capital out of the matter, and to throw dirt, apropos of it, on their political adversaries, who are responsible for nothing about it except the inquiry necessary to ascertain the truth.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, *7th March* 1889.

. . . We are going to Birmingham in Easter week, to the Chamberlains, for a great Unionist meeting—on as great a scale, or greater, than that at which Gladstone spoke last autumn—and I expect to have to speak there. After that we mean to be in London till the end of the session.

As to the political campaign of the session, I do not doubt that it is intended to be a very sharp one. As in 1887, so now, the Opposition tactics seem likely to be to endeavour to

stir up the country against the House of Commons under the notion that the Government, though not beaten in any division, may be forced to dissolve. And, as in 1887, I expect that any such attempt will fail. It is true, I think, that their way of carrying on the war has made more impression upon the masses than is at all for the public good; the bye-elections for important places have gone generally in their favour; and, as far as I can at present foresee, they may continue to do so. But a dissolution cannot be forced without violence; and violence is not likely to be resorted to; and, if it were, I do not think Lord Salisbury is the man to give way before it; and it would be as likely as not to rally in support of the Government many of those who are now misled by the false sentiment and wholesale misrepresentation of the Home Rulers. Counter addresses to the Queen to dissolve Parliament, if that machinery should be resorted to, will have no moral weight; it will be easy enough to get my Addresses on the other side. But the general situation of things is an anxious one,—much more is at stake than "Home Rule." If I did not care more for my children and for the country than I do for myself, I should be glad in the prospect of leaving this world before the end of all these things comes. As it is, I comfort myself with the recollection that the government of the world and the future of our country are in higher hands than either Gladstone's or Lord Salisbury's; that in the history of the world the outcome of things has but seldom been so bad as pessimists or so good as optimists have expected; and that the Power which really rules the world constantly brings good out of seeming evil.

[illegible] East Dean, 19th March 1899.

John Bright is gone at last. You will feel it, recalling the associations of former years. I have often differed from him, and his frequent asperity of speech was a drawback upon his great character which I always felt. But there was, with it all, a vein of tenderness, which increased in his later years, and [illegible] with his undaunted courage, as much in setting himself [illegible] the [illegible] when he thought it wrong, as in using [illegible] those objects which he thought right, attracted me very much to him. He was a thoroughly brave and honest man.

according to his lights, and a good Christian too; and I am afraid he leaves few like him behind.

Another man of note died, unexpectedly, on the same day with Bright—the Duke of Buckingham. Although he never did anything of much consequence in the world in general, he deserves to be spoken of with honour for the admirable way in which he bore, in his youth, great trials; and he was, in all the relations of life, a good man. With him a historical name, potent in the politics of the last century, and illustrious farther back for chivalrous achievements by sea and land, is extinct. I should suppose that the successors to the Chairmanship of Committees of the House of Lords will fall either to your niece's husband, Lord Balfour, or to Lord Morley,—most likely to Lord Balfour, as Lord Morley is not of the Government party, though a Liberal Unionist.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 18*th April* 1889.

I shall say very little in answer to your letter of the 23rd March about the *fiasco* of the *Times* and the Parnell letters. Whatever advantage Parnell may derive from having his veracity about those letters substantiated, and from being exonerated from any censure justly due to a man in his position saying that Mr. Burke, when he was assassinated, only got his deserts (which were the *only* matters of the slightest importance involved in the "letters" controversy), it cannot be a subject of regret to me that the truth (if it be the truth), though in Parnell's favour, should be established. And I think nobody ought to hesitate to accept the result of the trial, on this point, as the truth. Giving no more weight to what Pigott said at one time than to what he said at another, these three things seem to me to be enough:—(1) He was the *only* witness brought to prove the genuineness of any of the letters; (2) it was proved, independently of any confession to Labouchere, etc., that he forged *some* of the letters in the later sets; and (3) Parnell denied them *all*, on oath, and was not cross-examined. (No doubt he *could not* have been then cross-examined upon the point, because the case had been given up; but that is only an additional reason for giving credit to his oath.) There remain some things which it might have been satisfactory to have had better explained, such

[illegible]

other day, and had some talk with him about his forthcoming *Life of Lord Russell*, which you mention in your letter. He said it was to come out in the summer, and that he saw no other way of doing justice to your father on the one hand and to the subject of his biography on the other, in the matter which may be described as in controversy between them, than by "letting each tell his own story." He said, also, that he thought your father the *best Foreign Minister* that the country had ever had; but his opinion of him as Prime Minister was not so favourable, which, for my own part, I can perfectly well understand, as I have always thought that your father, as Prime Minister, was placed in a false position through the necessities of the Coalition, which his very virtues made it difficult for him to get out of. Mr. Walpole also condemned very much Lord Russell's conduct about the Vienna Note; as to which he entertains the opinion, which has always been my own, that it ought to have been accepted as a just settlement of the controversy, that Lord Stratford ought not to have been allowed to remain at Constantinople, supporting the Turks in their rejection of it, and that its rejection placed Russia much more in the right than she had been before. I wonder whether he will say so in his book. It is curious, that some time before having this conversation with him, I had written a chapter on that subject in my *Memorials*, expressing, in substance, the same opinions.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, *24th July* 1889.

I shall devote this letter chiefly to politics, of which we have had some new developments, since I last wrote about them. Of these, the most notable is the Edinburgh demonstration in favour of Mr. Parnell. Gladstone's zeal on the occasion was manifested, not only in the inevitable epistle in which Parnell is extolled as the most "conservative and restorative" influence of the day, but by the special mission of his son Herbert, to take a prominent part in the proceedings. If I could judge or interpret Gladstone as I should any other man, I should say that he must be a convert, not to revolution only but to the wholesale plunder and extermination of landlords, and to the use for that object of such means as boycotting; detestable in themselves, and leading inevitably to violence. For, the *one* thing *certain* in the future is,

that if the legislative and executive power in Ireland were handed over to Parnell and his friends, they would, in one way or another, confiscate the property of the landlords; the destruction of "Landlordism" has been, from the first, the avowed object of their Leagues, and the only acknowledged and unquestionable aim of their policy. And Parnell has never pretended to separate himself till the present moment, from the use of boycotting as his main instrument for that purpose. Gladstone himself has found it necessary to sink so low as to extenuate boycotting as a mere form of exclusive dealing, from which he once was the foremost to distinguish it. He may possibly believe that the diminution of boycotting in its worst forms (which is a *fact*, attributable in most other men's judgment to the firmness with which the law has been put in force by the present Government) is due to some change of mind on the part of its inventors; he is, indeed, capable of believing *anything* which falls in with the impulse which governs him at the moment, and nothing but that extraordinary optimism and power of credulity saves him from the charge of indifference to truth, in the pursuit of his objects.

I thought Parnell's attempt to persuade the people of Edinburgh that Gladstone's settlement of the Irish question (whatever it might be) would be accepted as final in Ireland, was singularly audacious. Does he know *what* that settlement would be, except from the "Government of Ireland" Bill 1886? If not, how can he know that it would be accepted as final? And to suppose that the bill of 1886 would be accepted as final, is against all common sense. When the land was confiscated, nothing would be left, under such an arrangement as that was, but for the parties in the Irish Parliament to worry one another, and seek to maintain their popularity by fresh demands upon England, either for money or for more power. If Parnell himself turned Conservative, there would be active and ambitious spirits enough to revolt against him; so that, if one believed his present professions to be sincere, one could not believe that he could answer for any one but himself.

I suppose you will have read Gladstone's paper about Ireland in the last number of the *Nineteenth Century*, the object of which appears to be to prove that there is no moral obligation

upon Irishmen to obey the Act of Union, or any laws founded upon it, because of certain things unconnected (so far as the matters there insisted upon go) with the Union itself, or with any plan for union which were done during the time of Grattan's Parliament, and while the violence of factions in Ireland was inflamed by rebellion and civil war, and the evil passions engendered by them. These were the very things which made the Union necessary, for which it was devised as a remedy, and for which it *has been* a remedy, in point of fact. But it seems to be a pleasure to Gladstone to throw all the dirt he possibly can, not on the Union only, but upon his own country. Just as he says now that everything which is bad, in fact and in tendency, is the fault of the *Times* (and he would say the same thing if his scheme was tried and found to be a miserable failure, ending in civil war), so he says that everything which was bad in Ireland, from 1782 to 1800, was the fault of England. He selects, as typical, atrocities and condonations of them, on the one side, which were really exceptional and extraordinary, and were so regarded by the historians who recorded them, and he sinks into the lowest relief everything on the other side.

The idea of breaking up the United Kingdom into a number of fractions with separate Parliaments, which in my belief would make us a federation of republics, discordant, and each of them feeble, and would be fatal to our national greatness and power, seems continually to gain strength with him. Here I must stop.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 16*th August* 1889.

When I wrote to you a fortnight ago, we were in the middle of the Royal Grants question : as to which Gladstone certainly showed that he was not yet able to give up *everything* for party, though it may be doubted how far he may have let his followers understand that they were at liberty to separate from him on that occasion without prejudice to their general cordiality. At all events, they *did* (all but eleven) go *against* him ; and, what is more remarkable still, *all* who had sat with him in his last Cabinet did so. Those who voted, under Morley's lead, for the proposition against which they had voted when it was moved by Labouchere, did not cut a good figure,—especially Morley himself and Mundella, both of whom had recently made speeches in the country,

substantially in favour of such royal grants, and who must have acted, in the end, under the dictation of the more Radical and Republican set among their constituents. Of course, everybody professes loyalty to the Crown, and even those who might prefer a distinctly Republican form of Government do not, generally, say so. It is not for me to say that a Republican leaning is at the bottom of all this, whether men acknowledge it to themselves or not. I remember, when I was in office and dining at Osborne, saying to the Queen that if the French Republic held its ground, I thought it would certainly influence public opinion in England. And, little as there may be to admire in the quality or in the doings of the present French Republic, I think its influence *has* been, and continues to be, felt in a constant tendency to degradation in the tone of our party politics, in the increasing dissemination by enthusiasts and men of letters, of false ideas of political and social equality, and in flattery of the principle of "democracy" in the speeches and writings of our public men. Many men's conception of Liberalism now seems to be one opposed to those old notions of [illegible] which I have never ceased to entertain, a war of class against class, and of masses against classes. And against this, until now, Gladstone has not so much as lifted up his little finger.

There are two papers in the last August number of the [illegible] worth your reading to see what an unsettled state of [illegible] is about the political and social situation [illegible] is by Mr. [illegible] Radical member for one of the divisions of [illegible] and [illegible] Ernest Jones, once a well-known Chartist [illegible] the attempt to stir up the [illegible] the enforcement of the law in [illegible] we want is "the [illegible] The other is by a Roman [illegible] He goes in for [illegible] the world thinking [illegible] and I suppose that she [illegible] We have just [illegible] and we [illegible] In September I [illegible]

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 29*th August* 1889.

. . . I have been lately reading some unpublished extracts from the Journals of that Lord Carlisle, whom we and his contemporaries best knew as Lord Morpeth. They are less interesting than I expected: too many mere memoranda of dinners, etc., and of the people whom he met in society. But, here and there, sayings of interest are preserved, among which is one of Lord Macaulay (4th March 1848), that the French revolutionary party of 1848 were "refuting the doctrines of political economy in the way that a man would refute the doctrine of gravitation by jumping from the Monument." This seems to me to apply very much to the sentimental philanthropy which the word "Socialism" is now commonly used to represent. It is difficult to deal in principle, with what is so extremely vague,—"If shape it can be called, which shape has none, Distinguishable in feature, form, and limb." But at the root of it there seems to be a purpose of universal destruction, and a notion that the wealth of the country is a fixed immutable quantity, which cannot be destroyed, and is at present unjustly distributed; and that, by the use of revolutionary means, a better distribution of it, producing a general and nearly uniform level of prosperity between poor and rich, may be obtained. In all which I am not a believer. For, in the first place, I think that an enormous proportion of what we call wealth has no more tangible or solid basis than credit and confidence between man and man, reduced to an organic working system; and of this, I think, much would be absolutely destroyed and disappear if the system under which it were organised were violently disturbed. And it is at all events certain, that even if the wealth of the world is, at any given time, a fixed quantity, which, if displaced in one direction, will find its way to another, it may find its way to other countries, not to other persons in our own country. Of this there can be no better illustration than our present agricultural condition, as compared with that of some time past. Rents and the value of land have gone down (I will say) 50 per cent. It necessarily follows that the owners of that particular kind of property have only half of what they had a few years ago. Where has the difference gone? *Partly*, it may be, to the

consumers of agricultural produce in this country, who get it more cheaply now than they did when they were supplied by our landowners. But *partly*, beyond all doubt, to the landowners in India, America, and Russia, who now supply it at cheaper rates.

What makes me more anxious about Socialistic ideas than I might otherwise be is that they seem to have an attraction for many benevolent and well-meaning men, among the clergy, who think them more in harmony with a Christian spirit than the worship of Mammon. I do not mean such as ———; but rather such unquestionably good and rational men as Canon Scott-Holland and Furze. Now I should be the first to allow that Mammon-worship is not Christian; for that, at all events, there is the highest authority. I allow, further, that the New Testament is full of such warnings against the dangers of riches, as rich men ought seriously to take to heart. But, on the other hand, there is not less abundance of encouragement to, and blessing upon, *the poor*, and it seems to me difficult to reconcile them with the notion that poverty need not exist, and that laws ought, as far as possible, to equalise all men. I do not think there is any single passage in the New Testament which encourages the notion that those who have power of government in the world ought to set themselves to destroy, as far as possible, both riches and poverty, or that they *could* do it if they made the attempt. It is true that the first Christians "had all things in common"; but even then it was not compulsory, as the history of Ananias and Sapphira shows. Nor does it seem to me possible that, if the like system were attempted by secular governments, it would be morally or in spirit the same thing, or that it could work in the same way. From the beginning of the world it has been so; and if a general levelling down were attempted, it would only be a new starting-point from which some would find new roads to riches. After all, the eighth and tenth commandments have not been yet repealed.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To Countess Waldegrave

Raby Castle, Darlington, 20*th September* 1889.

I got through the work at Huddersfield, if not quite so much to my own satisfaction as I could have desired, certainly without any detriment to myself. In one or two places the reporters missed my words, and put nonsense in instead of them in the *Times*; but nobody but one's self, and *sometimes* political adversaries, will ever be very critical about these things. Fortunately, in this case the criticism of political adversaries is much more likely to be directed to Chamberlain's longer and much more eloquent speech (really an extremely fine one), than to mine. So much for that matter.

The Duchess makes herself very agreeable as a hostess, and the Duke, eighty-five or eighty-six years old, has been talking in an interesting way of his old recollections.—Believe me, dearest daughter, ever your affectionate Father, Selborne.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 17*th October* 1889.

I do not think I told you much about our visits to Birmingham and Huddersfield; both of which enlarged my knowledge, and in some important respects improved my opinion of Chamberlain. In his own family he is very agreeable, and his family are very agreeable too; which is always a good sign, as to the *head* of the family. His eldest son and daughter (I did not see anything of the others) are as nice-mannered young people, and as attentive to their elders, as I have ever seen; very intelligent too, and attractive in all ways. His present wife is a young American lady, very good-looking, with excellent simple manners, more English, of the best type, than American. As a speaker, he seems to me to be the only man who can, at present, be put at all upon the same level with Gladstone, or even Harcourt. Both in fluency, self-possession, matter, and manner, I thought his speech in the great hall at Huddersfield, to an immense meeting, as good as anything could be. His general tone about politics is certainly much more reasonable and much more conciliatory to

those who are not Radicals, than it used to be, whether he has changed any of his opinions upon subjects of importance or not.—Yours affectionately.

SELBORNE.

To Lady Blachford

Blackmoor, 23rd November 1889.

I see that the separation, to which you have lately been looking forward, has taken place. May God help and support you under it. My own ties to this world are loosening, but still I love those who are in it, as well as those who have been taken away, and to whom I seem to be daily drawing nearer. I am, therefore, not without sympathy with you in your loss, as having myself a friend the less. Now that he has gone, I may say, that I have had for a great many years reverence for his character, as well as affection for him, and great confidence in his wisdom and judgment. He was too modest and single-minded to let all the world know what he was, but those who did know must for ever cherish his memory.—Believe me, dear Lady Blachford, ever yours truly.

SELBORNE.

To Viscount Chewton

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 29th November 1889.

I liked the kettle-holder, which you worked for me, very much indeed, and I shall be so glad to see you when you come here. It is curious to think of you and Mummie going together with Aunt Freda and Uncle Dos over the sea. I hope you will like it, and come back quite a strong boy. You will go to a country which you have heard so much about from the Bible, where Joseph was, and where Pharaoh who was kind to him, and another Pharaoh who was cruel to the children of Israel when Moses was there, were kings. I have never been there, so my darling grandson will see a part of the world which his old grandfather never saw.—Believe me ever, my dearest boy, your most loving Grandfather.

SELBORNE.

To George Marindin, Esq.

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 12*th December* 1889.

I am sorry that an engagement at a distance from home makes it impossible for me to be present at your meeting to-morrow. I am firmly persuaded that the future greatness of our country, and happiness of its people, are at stake in the political contest now being carried on, more than they have been at any former period of our history; and that there can be no greater delusion, than to attempt to use concerning it the old party words, as if the question were now between Conservatives and Liberals. The question, as it is now explained by our opponents, is whether the British Constitution, such as it has hitherto been known, shall be preserved or totally destroyed.

To give Ireland, and not Ireland only but also Scotland and Wales, separate Parliaments (for this is their present scheme as I understand it), would be nothing less than the total destruction of our Constitution, and the beginning of a series of new experiments in government, of which no one can foresee the end. And it seems to be thought that encouragement is to be given to almost every other revolutionary project which finds favour in any quarter calling itself Liberal or Radical, in order to purchase support for this scheme. What is to become of England we are not told; except that, although we are to have nothing to do with the government of Ireland, the Irish members are still to have a part in governing us. I hope that every true-hearted Englishman, who is not the mere slave of party, will resist their scheme.—Believe me, etc., Selborne.

CHAPTER XXXIV

LETTERS 1890—MR. GLADSTONE—WAITING FOR THE END

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

16th January 1890.

I HARDLY did justice, before I read this book, to the *poetical* gifts either of Lord Russell himself, or to Lady Russell and her mother, Lady Minto. They were, I think, considerable.

I pass on to your paper on M. Guizot, and the Spanish marriages. If Willie, in his *Quarterly* article, wrote too strongly in the popular sense, he was doubtless ignorant of the provocation to the French King and Minister, by Lord Palmerston's despatches of the 3rd and 16th August 1845 to Sir H. Bulwer, treacherously communicated to them. There can be no doubt that this ought to make *some* difference in our estimate of their conduct: the question is, how much? Your paper modifies rather than alters, my judgment of the affair. It leaves, of course, quite unaltered the opinion, which probably most Englishmen formed, that Louis Philippe's project of dynastic aggrandisement, by marrying his own son either with the Queen or to the Infanta, was foolish, and (when pressed to the extent of imperilling his relations with this country) unjustifiable; and that M. Guizot's friends and admirers must regret that he should have lent himself to it. It leaves untouched, also, the still darker imputation of promoting the Queen's marriage with a husband not likely to make her happy, and of whom it was

commonly believed that she could have no heirs by him, for political or dynastic objects. All that it does is to show that, upon the question of good faith, the conduct of Lord Palmerston and Sir H. Bulwer went further towards exonerating the French Government from the charge commonly made against it, than most persons are aware of—among others, myself.

What seem to me the weak points in the defence are two. First, everything turns upon the assumption that the French King had always made everything conditional upon the marriage of the Queen to a Prince of the House of Bourbon. But I do not perceive that, at Tréport or Eu, when the engagement said to have been broken was given, any such condition was mentioned. Secondly, the engagement had been given, not to your father as Queen's Minister, but personally to the Queen and Prince Consort. I think that, before breaking it, on the pretext that something was going on between the succeeding British Ministry and the Spanish Court, which was regarded as morally absolving those who had entered into it, some explanations on the French side were, in honour and good faith, necessary—it may be to the Queen personally, but, at all events, some explanations. If it was not possible to say, Lord Palmerston's despatches to Sir H. Bulwer are known to us; it was, at all events, possible to say, "We have reason to believe that British influence is now being used at Madrid for purposes inconsistent with our view of the understanding between the two Governments; and we now state, distinctly, our view of that understanding. If the British Government assent to it, and assure us that nothing contrary to it shall be done, we abide by it still: if not, we regard it, from this time forth, as for all purposes at an end." I do not think it is consistent with public or private honour to break a solemn engagement on the ground of secret information, obtained in a manner which cannot be disclosed, without at all events giving notice that the engagement is at an end for some reasonable time before anything contrary to it is done. And the very fact that the Spanish Government betrayed the confidential communication between themselves and the British Ministry to Louis Philippe, deprives him of the excuse that there was danger of *our* stealing a march upon him, if he did not steal one upon us.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 19*th March* 1890.

It is time to ask what your arrangements are for coming home. I suppose you will not stay much beyond the end of April in Ceylon,—at least, so I infer, from hearing that your successor has taken his passage by the same steamer, which will take Major and Mrs. Hannay to Hong-Kong, leaving on or about the 15th of April. You know the Hannays: *he* is my brother Horsley's adopted son; and she (by birth Augusta Murray) one of a family with whom we have long been very intimate, and who are all very charming. They were for some time with the Duke of Connaught in India; he on the Duke's staff, and she in the Duchess's household; which they gave up, mainly for her health: and the Duke is still very friendly towards them. Now Ormelie (as we are used to call him by his Christian name) is ordered out to join a battalion of his regiment at Hong-Kong, where they expect to be for a year or two; and she, very rightly, chooses to go with him. Their only child remains at Coldhayes. I hope you will see something of them if you are at Colombo when the ship calls there. They are both all that we could desire, and it is hardly possible that you should not be pleased with them.

I now turn to your letter of the 10th February, about the Spanish marriages. Nothing can be further from my mind than the idea of "pronouncing final judgment" upon the point taken in my former letter which seems to you a false one. Your knowledge of the whole case, and your recollection of every turn in it is (I have no doubt) greater than almost anybody else's: while mine is much more imperfect. I am, therefore, not at all indisposed to accept your authority for the proposition that it *must* have been understood (though not *mentioned* at the interviews between our Queen and Louis Philippe) that the King's engagement respecting the marriage of the Infanta to his son was conditional on the marriage of the Queen of Spain to a Prince of the House of Bourbon.[1] It may be so, but to me

[1] Sir Arthur Gordon, now Lord Stanmore, had urged in substance:—
1. That the prom[illegible] by Louis Philippe and M. Guizot, to the effect [illegible] Duke d[illegible]er should not marry the Infanta Maria Luisa [illegible] Queen [illegible]herself married and had had children, was from

this was not obvious, from such of the facts as I knew and remembered. If there was a previously established understanding between ourselves and Louis Philippe, that the Queen of Spain *should* have her choice confined to members of that family, it would (no doubt) be so: but, if there was no such understanding on our part, I should have thought that it ought to have been expressed, as a condition of the engagement personally given to our Queen, and not left to be implied (without notice or explanation) when the King thought the conduct of our Government such as to release him from his engagement.

I may, perhaps, have been influenced in taking that view by

---

the first avowedly a conditional one, and binding only if the Queen of Spain herself married a Prince of the House of Bourbon and retained in that family the Crown which it had for 150 years possessed.

2. That, in the event of the marriage of either the Queen or her sister with a Prince of the House of Coburg becoming probable, the French Government had declared that it held itself free to act as it thought best to "*parer le coup.*"

3. That a formal written notification to this effect had been officially communicated to the British Government in February 1846.

4. That the marriage of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg to either the Queen or the Infanta *was* in August 1846 "probable and imminent," and therefore:

5. That, although the course adopted by King Louis Philippe and M. Guizot in not openly communicating with the English Government may be matter for regret or even for censure, no charge of breach of faith can be justly preferred against them.

Further, Lord Stanmore showed that it was proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, by the correspondence discovered in the Tuileries after the Revolution of 1848, that from the 20th July (when the news of M. Bresson's acceptance of Queen Christina's offer of the simultaneous marriage of her two daughters first reached Paris), and the 12th August, it was the intention of the King of the French and his minister to disavow and cancel in the most solemn manner, and in writing, the assent which M. Bresson had, contrary to his instructions, given to Queen Christina's overtures.

It was only when they had before them Lord Palmerston's private instructions to Sir H. Bulwer, directing him to try to effect the marriage of the Queen and her sister to Don Enrique and Prince Ferdinand, leaving it indifferent which prince married which princess, but insisting that both sisters should be married, and the arrangement, once agreed on, carried into effect at once, that they assented to Queen Christina's wishes.

my strong sense of the extreme unreasonableness,—not to say more,—of so limiting the Queen of Spain's choice. Beyond the royal family of France, it forced her to take one of three persons, all of them, in point of fact, objectionable on grounds more or less solid, and none of them supposed to be regarded with any feeling of preference by the Queen, the happiness of whose whole life was in question. Count Trappani was her uncle: and I should have thought that alone a sufficient reason for setting him aside. No doubt, the political negotiations did not so treat it: but he was set aside for other reasons which (I suppose) might have been foreseen. Don Enrique (or whatever is his name in Spanish) was evidently an unsafe man in politics, and probably little better than a fool; he also was not practically eligible. Far be it from me to assume that the things which were said about Don Francisco, whom she was in effect condemned to marry, were true, or that he may not really have been King Alfonso's father. But it is difficult not to feel that (even if there was no ground for the rumours) he had not the qualities necessary to make his wife happy, and that the marriage was unhappy, in point of fact. Unless Queen Isabella was the most injured woman in the world, her life was no better than it might have been expected to be, if all those stories had been true.

As for King Louis Philippe's motives, I am not disposed to impute to him any which are not on the surface of the transaction. He was an old fox, of no high or noble spirit, and had certainly, what he thought, the interests and the aggrandisement of his own family more at heart, than the good of Spain or its queen. That, I think, is bad enough. Of Guizot, and his part in the matter, I think and would say nothing worse, than it was a business in which a man of so great intelligence and so high a character would not have been likely to take the part which his master expected from him, but for a certain deteriorating influence which high political station seems to have upon most men who are capable and ambitious of it. I hope it will not annoy you, that I should think even Guizot not free from the power of that influence: I am not sure that any great statesman of our time, except your father and the Duke of Wellington, has been entirely free from it. Peel, with all his great qualities, made his *transitions* in a *way* which was not satisfactory, keeping

up the appearance of one line after he must really have made up his mind to take another.

We are both well here, but with a sick house from the strange epidemic, influenza, which is still going on, and breaks out continually in new places.

HATFIELD HOUSE, HERTS, 30*th January* 1890.

I do not mean to say, in this letter, very much about politics; but I ought not to omit to say that I have no reason to think that Lord Hartington is going to surrender anything of importance for which I could make a stand. Whatever you may have seen, which produced that impression, I do not think it can have been in any of his own speeches; and you must have seen something which I did not see, for the suggestion was new to me. Of course you would not assume that his views on *Church* questions would be like mine; for, with all his excellent qualities, I suppose he is not ecclesiastically minded, and Mr. Gladstone is continually quoting something which he said, long ago, about disestablishment in Scotland depending on the will of the Scotch people. I am not aware that he has ever expressed a similar opinion as to Wales; but Lord Derby certainly has, and it is an unfortunate condition of "Liberal-Unionism," that except on one subject there is no great amount of cohesion among us. Nevertheless, allowing for all that, I think Lord Hartington is as little likely as anybody to make unnecessary concessions to Radicalism.

About the *general* political outlook, I wish I could say that I did not share your apprehensions. But, if Gladstonianism should prevail, I will not say at the next elections only, but against any reaction which may afterwards (and probably soon would) set in against it, it seems to me almost necessary, that all which you fear should follow, and that at a terribly rapid pace. The point which I think most doubtful is, whether the more scrupulous and Conservative classes might not, before those things be done, regain their ordinary and natural influence, as they did after the Reform Act of 1832. It seems tolerably clear, that the enemy which will soon come to the front is Socialism; and it will be strange if, after its more extreme demands are formulated, *all* who have any stake in the maintenance of the security of property do not combine against it.

Your explanation of the causes of the present state of political opinion in Scotland is very interesting, and I think it must be true. If so, the same causes are, no doubt, operating in England, and may operate still more if the Church is disestablished, and if public education (elementary and other) is secularised still more than at present. I am not without serious fears, that under the sort of broken-up government which the full development of "Home Rule" would produce, dangers *from abroad* would increase upon us, and, in that point of view, the new Naval Policy of the United States may have much future importance.

If you have not fallen in with a very pleasant book of letters (on personal and literary, with an almost exclusion of political subjects)—those of Edward FitzGerald, one of the Cambridge "Apostle" set (who died in 1883, being three years older than myself).—I recommend you to get and read it.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *13th February* 1890.

. . . You will have seen what has appeared in the newspapers about Gladstone's visit to Oxford. You may like, I think, to know more than the newspapers have told you. It was, so far as any *overt* demonstrations went, absolutely unpolitical. He wrote to Sir William Anson (the Warden of All Souls) asking whether, being an Honorary Fellow of that College, he could have the use of rooms there for a few days? Sir William, as might be expected, offered him rooms in his own house; but Gladstone preferred having a vacant set of Fellow's rooms, which was accordingly given him. He dined there, in the Hall, on three consecutive evenings, each time with a larger party than before—forty at last—to meet him; and he breakfasted, lunched, and dined at Balliol, Christ Church, and Magdalen, etc., every day; going out, in fact, as much as possible. Everywhere, of course, he made himself very agreeable always on (politically) neutral ground. My brother observed that he took pains to hear and join in the conversation of those who sat near him at table. His reception at the Union Society was more enthusiastic, Edwin tells me, than anything which has been seen at Oxford since the last Chancellor's Installation in the theatre; although he chose, for the subject

of his address to the young men, a Homeric (or pseudo-Homeric) thesis, about which it would be difficult to suppose either knowledge or interest on the part of any of his younger hearers, and on which the older men, who might have some knowledge, were more likely to be critical than admiring. And, in point of fact, that *was* the case. The lecture (delivered in lecturer's, not orator's, style) was *rerum tenerium tenuissimum*, no substance in it at all. My brother, who was called upon to move the vote of thanks to him (and who performed that duty willingly, and I think, gracefully enough), could not say anything particularly complimentary about the lecture, and did not attempt to do so; but was content to speak of the compliment paid to the auditory by the presence, and by the speech before them of such a man. In his speech, acknowledging the vote of thanks, Gladstone came out more as an orator; and he gave utterance to feelings towards Oxford, which must have been dormant, or suppressed, for nearly twenty years, the sincerity of which I do not doubt. It is, after all, quite possible, that the object of the whole of this interlude in his life of incessant public activity, was to renew the feelings and memories of his early youth, and take in a new draught of pure and simple youthfulness, in his eighty-first year.

Our session of Parliament has begun better and more quietly than was expected. In the absurd *Privilege* motion which Harcourt interposed before the Address, Gladstone took no very violent part; and his speech on the Address itself was eminently pacific. *We* (the Unionists) are in rather better spirits, on account of our success in retaining a seat for Lanarkshire against so strong a Gladstonian candidate as Sir Charles Tennant; showing that, even in Scotland, we *can* sometimes *win*. To-night, the Judges' Report in the Royal Commission business has been laid before Parliament. To-morrow, I suppose, we shall know what it is.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *3rd April* 1890.

. . . Your letter of the 12th March is just to hand. I suppose, when you wrote it, you had not seen my long speech, of the 25th February, about the Parnell, etc. "Special Commission." I do not see what it was possible for the judges to do,

with respect to the part of the case which, on Pigott's breakdown, the counsel for the *Times* abandoned, except to find partially *for* the accused. But, on the other hand, the only real importance of the particular personal questions on which they have so found, was in the feeling which men in general would naturally have against every sort of foul play against a political adversary, whatever, and however grave, might be the things which he had really done. Of this, the party in alliance with Parnell have (as might be expected) taken all the advantage which they possibly could; but, as far as I can judge, they have overshot the mark; and those who read the Report itself (and they are very many) will not fail to see—unless they are already in sympathy with crime—that the *general case*, in which the public alone has any important interest, is fully made out, and that its cumulative effect is very great indeed. You (I presume), when you wrote, had not read the Report, but had only seen a summary of it in the papers.

I suppose when an Irishman and an Irishman meet together, and talk over things in which they have a strong interest, they (or one of them) cannot help *colouring* them in a way which would be foreign to the nature of an Englishman. It is *not possible* that Lord Spencer can have meant to convey to Miss Burke's mind the idea that he considered (for I am sure he never did consider) Parnell or other M.P.'s to be implicated in the Phœnix Park murders. I do not agree with you in thinking that the judges (who rightly conducted the whole general inquiry upon judicial principles) ought to have sent, *proprio motu*, for any of the Government officials of Dublin Castle, to throw further light upon a part of the case which was practically abandoned and at an end.

I do not think, when you have read the Report, that you will any longer be under the impression that there has been an acquittal, complete or incomplete, upon "*the worst charges.*" The charge of connection with the Invincibles, and possible knowledge of their design, was not made by the *Times* itself: it was only an *innuendo*, extracted (the judges thought, reasonably) from a foolish *Times* leader, by Sir Charles Russell; and for this there was held to be "no foundation." Of the forged letters, the language did not amount (if they had been genuine) to any-

thing more than an expression of opinion that Mr. Burke deserved no sympathy; from which, participation in the crime, direct or indirect, certainly could not have been inferred. *Not* to have done these particular things cannot, as it seems to me, counteract in the least what *were* done, and found proved. Even if innocence of a particular crime were a virtue, Parnell's name would be left (like that of Byron's "Corsair") "Linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes."

Our general political situation has improved a little. We have lately retained one contested seat *in Scotland*, and have won another from the Gladstonians; and we keep Windsor, by a better majority than at former elections. On the other hand, if we lose Carnarvon, it will be because the Welsh dissenters have been bribed by the promise of Welsh Disestablishment, for which they are rabid.

BLACKMOOR, 11*th September* 1890.

The Bishop of Winchester[1] and the ladies of his family have been occupying the Vicarage house here for a month, and left it last Monday. There was scarcely any week-day on which we did not spend from half an hour to an hour together—I think with pleasure to us both; certainly to me. He is a good man and true.

So the death of Newman—which it was impossible not to be prepared for, however great the void left in the world by the removal of so unique and venerated a presence—has been followed by that of Liddon, for which I was wholly unprepared, and which has been as great a shock to me as any such event can be to a man whose own time draws near to its end. I look about me and ask myself, Is there now any great man left to this poor Church of England, upon which (probably) a time of trial, unknown before since the days of the Commonwealth, is quickly coming? Who is he? Where is he to be found? I do not know of any one: the strength which should have been husbanded for this time has been frittered away in trifles (as it seems to me); and the only man who rose much above them, since Newman, Keble, and Pusey—I ought to add Lightfoot—is now gone. But, if it be God's will, He can save by the weak things of the world as well as the strong—by few as by many;

[1] Bishop Harold Browne.

and if His purposes are to be accomplished by ways which we fear, and do not understand, no qualities of individual men could prevent, or for any long time stay, their accomplishment.

I knew Liddon well, and not only admired, but loved him. We did not, I suppose, agree about all things; but there were no differences between us to affect my general judgment of his character, or of the value and importance of his teaching and influence.

You asked, in your letter, how I understand the words in St. Matthew (who alone has them), σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, etc. I am afraid I shall not give you satisfaction, or suggest anything new to you. But I hold to the interpretation which distinguishes between πέτρος and πέτρα. The masculine word is "*a stone*," the feminine "*a rock*." I understand our Lord to call the Apostle, on account of his confession—whether made of himself and for himself, or as spokesman of the Twelve—*a stone, i.e.* the first stone of the Church to be built, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ. The *Rock* being our Lord Himself, whom Peter had just confessed in the words, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος: words which meant the fulfilment, in Him, of all the Scripture promises of an anointed Saviour. (Compare St. Peter's own words, 1 Peter ii. 4-8, and Eph. ii. 20-22.) I think this view confirmed by our Lord's words in Matt. xvi. 17, which immediately follow the confession of the Faith and precede the name given.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To GOLDWIN SMITH, ESQ.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 21*st November* 1890.

. . . The political outlook in this country has not improved since we last exchanged thoughts about it. Gladstone has become more reckless than ever, and seems not to be at all particular about the means which he uses to gain support or to damage his opponents. Every representative of the crudest and most disorganising ideas, social and political, is encouraged to believe that he may get his price, if only he will help to bring back Gladstone to power, and enable him to carry his next scheme for Irish misrule. And the combinations of all these different sections against the Conservatives and Unionists has told in many parts of the country, so as to make it at least prob-

able that, after the next election, the battle of 1886 will have to be fought over again, under less favourable circumstances. Nor can it be denied that the position of the Government, dependent from the first on the support of Liberal Unionists who did not feel themselves able to take a share of official responsibility, and never very strong in its present composition, has become weaker from year to year. It is, I am afraid, a bad look-out for the rising generations; but I shall probably not live to see what comes of it. I shall, at least, have the consolation of leaving behind me a son, who has not hitherto been wanting (and I trust never will be) in pluck and resolution to do his duty according to his lights.—Believe me, ever yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

TO LADY SOPHIA PALMER

33 GROSVENOR ROAD, *27th November* 1890.

. . . We are quite well here; and it has pleased God to bring me to the end of my seventy-eighth year. I make it my principal birthday pleasure to write to you.

We are in the middle of a curious political episode, which (as long, at all events, as it remains unsettled) may give the Government an easier time during this short session than they had anticipated. The voting of the address in the House of Commons with only one night's—and that a very short—debate, is a thing which has not happened for many years. You will no doubt have seen, by telegrams or otherwise, the substance of what has happened: how Gladstone sent for M'Carthy, to tell him that Parnell must *not* go on as leader of the Irish party; how, nevertheless, the Irish members were permitted to meet on Tuesday to receive Parnell with enthusiasm, and unanimously to re-elect him their leader; and how he accepted their choice. The next move was for Gladstone to write an angry and peremptory letter to John Morley the same evening, which (producing no effect, for it is certain that it was shown to Parnell) was published in the newspapers the next morning. It is characteristically Gladstonian: *seeming* to imply that the Irish must make their choice between Parnell and himself; but really saying only that the continuance of Parnell, "*at the present moment*," would "*almost nullify*" (!!) his own leadership. The Irish

members have had two meetings, and have postponed their final resolutions till Monday, in order (it is said) to obtain the advice of Dillon and O'Brien. I should not be surprised at their deciding either way; but I rather expect that they will yield (for the present, and to save an open rupture) to Gladstone. But if Parnell chooses to hold his own, he (and not Gladstone) will, I think, be master of the situation. For Gladstone *will* go on, however disagreeable the situation may be; he *cannot* change again, at eighty-one; and he *will not* retire. Going on, he *must* still devote all his energies to Parnell's cause, which is all that Parnell wants; and every nerve will be strained, as before, to win every election; nor do I think the elections would be much affected by what has happened, as the Gladstonians will point to Gladstone's letter as enough to get them out of the discredit attached to Parnell's name.—Ever your most affectionate

SELBORNE.

To the Countess Waldegrave

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *28th November* 1890.

I must write a line or two to thank you, and to ask you to thank dear Teddy for me, for your two birthday letters—most welcome, as all the love of my dear children and grandchildren always is. I also received letters from Oxford—both from May and from Madge. . . .

The political position will end, I should think, in Parnell being forced, against his will, to give way to Mr. Gladstone. But, however it may end, I doubt whether it will make much difference in political prospects as some may suppose. If Parnell maintains his post, Gladstone (in my opinion) will *not* retire; but will content himself with his protest, and go on just as before.—Your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To Lady Sophia Palmer

33 GROSVENOR ROAD, *2nd December* 1890.

. . . Last night I was one of the spectators of the St. Andrew's Home theatricals, which were wonderfully well done. . . .

The Parnellite mess continues: the majority of the Irish members are evidently against him; but he seems to be confident

that his supporters in Ireland (except, perhaps, the R.C. bishops) will stick by him; and he maintains a very bold attitude. He and his friends are praying for delay; and they say it ought not to be settled without ascertaining the views of their constituents; and then, not in England, but in Dublin. His opponents insist that they should settle it without delay, and here; and, as they are the majority, they will no doubt have their way for the time. But what the end may be I cannot prophesy. Meanwhile, the Government are getting on swimmingly with their business. The Tithe Bill was read a second time last night, and I have no doubt the Land Purchase Bill will be so too, if not to-night, in the course of this week.—Ever, darling child, your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

Something, before I bring these *Memorials* to a close, remains to be said of those from whom I was separated in 1886, and chiefly of the great man who was so long my leader.

Among my colleagues of 1885 I had been on closer and more confidential terms with some from whom I had to part company on the Irish question, than with any, except Lord Northbrook, of those who agreed with me upon it. With Sir William Harcourt I had an intimacy of many years' standing. I have said something of him elsewhere,[1] and, though it would be easy to say much of his later developments, I prefer to pay to our former friendship the tribute of silence. Mr. Childers had given me valuable support in my departmental reforms, and had shown much kindness to my son. Towards George Lefevre my feelings had been affectionate;—with Lord Kimberley and Lord Rosebery I had very

[1] *Memorials*, Part I.

friendly relations: and my esteem for Lord Spencer and Sir Farrer Herschell was great. Lord Granville had been in the habit of consulting me on many subjects, public and private; and that graciousness of manner in which he excelled almost all men, and which in him was not only the fruit of a courtier's education, but the ornament of a kindly nature, was manifested towards me in a way which left no doubt of its sincerity. I not only liked, but esteemed and admired him. In all public affairs which passed through his hands, he was adroit and generally prudent; a shrewd judge of men and things: seldom wrong when he relied on his own judgment; and very disinterested. More than once the first office in the State seemed to be within his reach: and he had qualities which would have gone far to enable him to fill it well,—temper, tact, moderation of spirit, hereditary and loyal attachment to his party, unfailing resource and skill in debate. But, when that prospect disappeared, there was no sign of disappointment, no jealousy of those who had stood in the way, no hesitation to co-operate with them, no afterthought for his own advantage if the opportunity should occur.

All these were colleagues with whom it was agreeable to be associated during the time that I served with them, but Gladstone was pre-eminent above them all. My feeling towards him had a different history, and was different in kind. It went back to the time when he left Oxford surrounded with a halo of academical glory, and at once gave proof in the

House of Commons of the greatness which was to come.

His sympathies with the religious movement of which, from 1883, Oxford was the fountain and centre, were very strong; and he was not the man to conceal them. When, in 1838 and 1840, he published his books on *The State in its relations to the Church*, and *Church principles considered in their results*, placing religion and churchmanship in the forefront of his politics, he was hailed, by one of the chief organs of that movement, as the future leader of a new generation of statesmen, to whom the cause of the Catholic Church would be dearer than any earthly ties[1]: and he became, to myself and many others, the object of unbounded trust. Archbishop Whately might describe the mind of the author of those works as "full of *cul-de-sacs*,"—leading to "the midst of a thicket or the brink of a precipice, without his being aware of it."[2] Macaulay might say, that whatever he saw was "reflected and disturbed by a false medium of passions and prejudices," and that "his rhetoric, often good of its kind, darkened and perplexed the logic which it should illustrate."[3] We were less wise: to us he was, applying Othello's words, "As one entire and perfect chrysolite."[4]

Time went on, and he changed his mind about

[1] *British Critic* of 1839 (then edited by John Henry Newman), vol. 26, pp. 355-397.

[2] Archbishop Whately's *Life and Correspondence* (first edition, 1866), vol. ii. pp. 92, 93.

[3] *Edinburgh Review*, 1839, vol. 69, p. 233.

[4] *Othello*, Act v. Scene 2.

some things, and explained himself in ways which left some people more in the dark than they were before. But his explanations held good with us: he was still our "bright particular star," moving in an orbit in which we thought we could follow him. When his indignation was poured out against Neapolitan tyranny, we did not ask whether it was done wisely for the end which he had in view, or share the misgivings of a man of great experience in public affairs, who knew and loved him well, and who wrote:—"He is one of the best men in existence; but he has done more mischief by this ill-advised proceeding than it is possible to estimate; and, unless I am mistaken, he will in the course of his life do much more."[1]

He rose higher and higher; "sailing" at last (the words are Mrs. Selwyn's) "on the top of the democratic wave."[2] But even then we followed him. We felt no perplexities (as some of his friends did[3]) about any excess or defect or peculiar idiosyncrasy in his conscience. Nor would our confidence in him have been shaken, if we had known that Lord Palmerston "feared his character, his views, and his temperament," and thought him "a dangerous man, who, if kept in Oxford, would be partially muzzled, but, if sent elsewhere, would run wild"[4]: or that Lord Clarendon, in 1860, regarded him as "an audacious innovator,"

[1] Lord Aberdeen to Princess Lieven, 29th October 1851—(privately printed).

[2] Curteis' *Bishop Selwyn* (1889), p. 279.

[3] See Appendix to Archdeacon G. A. Denison's *Mr. Gladstone*, etc., pp. 35-37 (Ridgway, 1885).

[4] Hodder's *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. iii. pp. 187, 188

with "an insatiable desire of popularity," and "a fervent imagination, which furnished facts and arguments in support of them."[1] We should have looked upon these as the judgments of men of the world, prejudiced against his religious opinions, and who did not understand him.

In a remarkable letter, written by himself to Bishop Wilberforce on the occasion of his rejection by Oxford in 1865, and published in the Bishop's *Life*, by his son,[2] he said:—"My revenge, which I do not desire, but would baffle if I could, all lies in that little word *future*, in my address:[3] which I wrote with a consciousness that it is deeply charged with meaning; and that which shall come will come. There have been two great deaths, or transmigrations of spirit, in my political existence; one very slow, the breaking of ties with my original party; the other very short and sharp, the breaking of the tie with Oxford. There will probably be a third, and no more."

It became by degrees apparent, that not his

(Gladstone was reported to have said of himself that he was "unmuzzled," when he went to South Lancashire).

[1] Greville's *Memoirs*, 1852-60, vol. ii. p. 291.

[2] Vol. iii. pp. 162, 163. (The date is 21st July 1865).

[3] The introductory part of his valedictory address to the Electors of the University of Oxford, dated the 18th July 1865 (here referred to), was in these words:—"After an arduous connection of eighteen years, I bid you respectfully farewell. My earnest purpose to serve you, my many faults and shortcomings, the incidents of the political relations between the University and myself established in 1847, so often questioned in vain, and now at length finally dissolved, I leave to the judgment of the future" (*Times*, 19th July 1865).

secular politics only, but his views on some important questions affecting the Church, had undergone a change. To me this made a difference, very serious as far as it went. But my general confidence in him was not destroyed.

It has been supposed by some that he gave me his confidence; and so, no doubt, it must have been to some extent; for otherwise he would not have desired my official co-operation, or have given me (as he did) many proofs of personal regard; in which he was, I am sure, sincere. But there are degrees of confidence; some men are, and some are not, admitted to the inner circle. I cannot boast that with him I had that privilege, highly as I might have esteemed it; which may have been partly due to something in myself, and partly to the effect of circumstances beyond my power. The business of my profession, beginning daily at an early hour, cut me off from opportunities which others had of frequent social intercourse with him; and habits of familiar personal intimacy, if not formed early in life, are seldom formed afterwards. And the attraction of common principles on subjects to which we both attached cardinal importance was limited between us by a tendency to divergence of opinion, after a certain point, as to their practical application. We were not of quite the same mind as to the existing Church Establishments. Putting the case of Ireland apart, I thought more, and he less, of the duty of maintaining them. I agreed with him that, if the choice ever came to be between things spiritual and things

temporal, the temporal must give way, the spiritual prevail. But he never seemed to me (after those "transmigrations of spirit" of which he wrote in 1865 to Bishop Wilberforce) to rate at their true value the benefits of Establishment to the State, or of endowment to the Church:—and his view, even of the spiritual side of the question, was, I thought, too little practical, and as to some things too much affected by party sympathies. In all these respects, his later opinions were more in agreement than his earlier, or my own, with the ruling ideas of Newman, Hurrell Froude, Keble, and Pusey; except that they regarded the spirit of the age as fundamentally opposed to true church principles; while he thought he might best advance those principles by throwing himself unreservedly into it,[1] so far, at all events, as politics were concerned. My essential agreement with him, which lay behind those questions, was for a long time stronger than the tendencies to difference, and was a potent bond of union between us: but the sense that such tendencies existed may have contributed to prevent our relations with each other from ripening into closer personal intimacy than they did.

Besides community of aims or agreement of principles, there was another cause of his ascendency over my own and other minds, in the very rare combination of shining qualities, which was found in him beyond any other statesman of modern times. This was felt, not only by those who followed him

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 85.

as a political leader, but by many who did not. I touched upon it in my speech at Reading on the 14th of November 1883, referring to what had been said at the Guildhall banquet not many days before by Sir Robert Fowler, the Lord Mayor of that year and Conservative member for the City of London; who applied to him Horace's lines to Augustus [1]:—

> "Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
> Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,
> Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes."

I said on that occasion, that the secret of his marvellous popularity was to be found in the opinion universally entertained of the purity of his motives, the height of his character, and his sympathy with the people and desire for their good, more than in his energy, eloquence, and intellectual gifts, however admirable. It was the manner in which these characteristics were blended in him, which raised him to so great a pre-eminence above other men.

His private life was, indeed, without a flaw. He was warm in all his domestic affections and friendships, assiduous in his attention to those prostrated by sickness or age, full of feeling for other men's bereavements, strict in the performance of all known duties. He preferred misconstruction to missing opportunities of doing good. In his conversation

[1] (*Epistola ad Augustum: Epist.* lib. ii. 1. 15-17)—I translated them for the benefit of those present who might not understand Latin:—

> "Thy honours do not wait for death; ev'n now
> Men build thee altars, and thy name revere;
> No time to come, they say, his like will show;
> No generation past has seen his peer."

there was no moroseness or reserve; it was easy and agreeable, far alike from austerity and levity. His interests were cosmopolitan: his acquirements wide and multifarious, and all at his command. He was a lover of music, poetry, the drama, and the fine arts. The studies of his youth were never laid aside; in some of them, to which he often reverted in the midst of absorbing public occupations, he was a specialist, though in a fanciful way; for he saw things in Homer, and in some of the Homeric personages, which other men, learned men as well as ordinary, could not see.[1] He spoke more than one European language almost as easily as his own. He was very high, if not first, in the first rank of modern orators;—an orator of the diffuse florid kind, Ciceronian rather than Demosthenic, lofty when dignity was necessary, and at all times fluent and animated; abounding in illustration and metaphor; every word in the right place, every sentence well turned. His fertile and facile pen was always at work, ranging over an infinite variety of subjects, and treating them, not very profoundly or critically, but never without ingenuity and force. He gave himself no rest;[2] when the idea was conceived, there

[1] There is an entry of a dinner at "The Club," on the 11th of May 1858, at which Milman, Grote, Cornewall Lewis, and Lord Lansdowne were present, in Lord Carlisle's diary (privately printed). "They talked of Gladstone's book on Homer as very fanciful, but worth reading,"—noticing, as one of the fanciful things in it, some comparison between Latona and the Virgin Mary.

[2] Lord Houghton wrote to Mr. George Bunsen on the 1st of May 1877: "I have just been breakfasting with Gladstone. . . . He said he had been in a hurry for forty years; which must account

seemed to be no pause before the anvil was struck, and the sparks sent out to fly abroad. There was not a book which he did not appear to have read, not a topic on which he could not discourse copiously. He had an extraordinary faculty of throwing off public cares in society, and of relaxing himself by passing from one thing to another,—politics, theology, literature, antiquities, art,—everything which had interest for the day. In all that he said and did, he was vigorous and energetic; his axe was as keen and his stroke as effective, in the natural and intellectual, as in the political world.

All lights have their shadows; and to that rule he was no exception. He was a man of complex nature, emotional, vivid in all phases of thought and feeling. In all men there are some contradictory elements; but in most men one or other of the opposing elements prevails; or, if it does not, there is a corresponding loss of energy. All the contradictory elements seemed in him to move together, with equal or almost equal power. Free from the lower forms of self-seeking, he was too much occupied with his own thoughts to give much attention to those of other people. His opinions, on some subjects of great moment, were in a constant process of flux and decomposition; and yet he was impatient of opposition to whatever might be the attitude of his mind for the time being. There was in his thoughts about many things, and in his language with all its

for many of his shortcomings" (Reid's *Memoir of Lord Houghton*, vol. ii. p. 261).

glitter, an involution and indistinctness, which made his footing less secure than it seemed, and his guidance less safe. With great appearance of tenacity at any given moment, his mind was apt to be moving indirectly down an inclined plane. It was not his habit to look all round a question, or to take in with equal patience both sides of an argument; when not a partisan, he was generally an antagonist. He had no consistent or settled respect for law. He had a propensity towards intellectual subtlety and casuistry, which was apt to mislead him as to the proportions of things: and he was not a good judge of the characters of men.[1] He was too readily influenced by opinions which fell in with his own wishes or feelings, and by the men who held them; and was impatient of the dry light of facts, when facts told the other way. Hence he often saw facts through a partial and distorted medium. He could see into millstones further than other men; and, on the other hand, he had a wonderful power of not seeing what he did not like. He was a master of the art of throwing dust into the eyes of those who were proper subjects for that operation (of whom in this world there are many); and he could practise it not less skilfully upon himself. There was hardly anything of which

[1] Lord Houghton threw into the following verses a contrast, in that respect, between him and Lord Beaconsfield:—

"We spoke of two high names of speech and pen,
How each was seeing, and how each was blind:
Knew not mankind, but keenly knew all men;
Knew nought of men, but knew and loved mankind."

(Reid's *Memoir of Lord Houghton*, vol. ii. p. 463.)

he could not persuade himself, when the current of his thoughts or feelings set in a particular direction. His high spirit was apt to degenerate into pugnacity: and his excitement, when at red heat, overflowed in philippics,—sometimes in speeches, letters, and other fugitive ways,—sometimes (as in the cases of Naples, the Vatican Council, and the Bulgarian "Lessons in Massacre") more deliberately in pamphlet form. There was something volcanic in the underground currents of his mind; of the direction of which (to judge from his own explanations) he had some consciousness, but of which, till they broke out in unexpected places, there were no indications intelligible to other men. His antipathies were not less strong than his sympathies; and he repressed them too little, when they were against classes or institutions. Public opposition had the effect, not of making him more circumspect, but of stirring him up like a war-horse to battle. Of this there were many instances throughout his career: and, as he grew older and more powerful, the habit became inveterate. An optimist always as to his own doings, he was by no means a dispassionate or equitable judge of others with whom he might be in controversy. He prided himself upon his constructive power: but, if he had it, he did not give it fair play. His chief legislative performances, the Irish Land Acts, gave way, like houses of cards, before combination and faction, which he at last rather abetted than resisted. His success in the destructive line was much less doubtful. He was not inaccessible to the flattery of party and

the pleasures of popular applause. In that respect, and not in that alone, he resembled Lord Chatham. Men who have no experience of the *pulchrum est digito monstrari, et dicier, hic est,*[1] may be unable to make due allowance for its effect upon those who have enjoyed it long, and are always in expectation of it. From a taste for it, other men besides Lord Chatham, great in their several ways, have not been free. Lord Nelson had it in excess, and Goldsmith to the point of extravagance. Dr. Johnson[2] said of the author of *Clarissa* (of whom he had no mean opinion) that he "could not be contented to sail quietly down the stream of reputation, without longing to taste the froth from every stroke of the oar." Mr. Gladstone's speeches to audiences on railway platforms and in other strange places could not have been so profusely poured out as on many occasions they were, but for some weakness of that kind.

If history were searched for a parallel to Gladstone's peculiarities as a statesman (though any such parallel must be very partial and imperfect) I do not think it would be easy to find a better, than the Emperor Joseph II., as Mr. Lecky[3] has sketched his character.

> Ambitious, fond of power, and at the same time restless and impatient, his mind was in the highest degree susceptible to the political ideas that were floating through the intellectual atmosphere of Europe; and he was an inveterate dreamer of dreams.

[1] Persius, *Sat.* i. 28.

[2] Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes* (App. to Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. 1826, vol. iv. p. 490).

[3] Lecky's *History of England*, vol. v. p. 218.

Large, comprehensive, and startling schemes of policy,—radical changes in institutions, manners, tendencies, habits, and traditions,—had for him an irresistible fascination.

To many things which Gladstone has said and done, imagination and enthusiasm are a sufficient key. Of this there was a striking appreciation, soon after his defeat in 1886, in a paper,[1] the master-spirit of which was at that time ardent in his support.

Mr. Gladstone sees everything as in a mirage. The Promised Land flowing with milk and honey is always just a little ahead. With siren eloquence he allures his hearers to press onward, ever upward, in the path of justice and right. It is true, that times without number the toil-worn pilgrims have found that the fascinating oasis which nerved them to such exertions vanished as they approached: but nothing daunts the Old Man's faith, or damps the fire of his enthusiasm. His speech (referring to one made the day before at Liverpool) recalls memories of the old alchemists who were always just on the point of discovering the philosopher's stone, until death came and dissolved their dreams. He is a poet, an idealist, and a prophet. The people sit at his feet as at those of one who sees visions, and discourses to them of things invisible. He keeps the great controversy on the heights, and defends every shift and wile in the political game with all the moral fervour of a Moses descending from a new Sinai. Herein lies his superiority as an electioneering force to all his competitors. He is always going to inaugurate the Millennium.

If it be true, that down to the end of June 1886 he "kept the great controversy on the heights," it was certainly not long afterwards, that he ceased to do so. To differ from him on so great a question of national policy might have been tolerable, though painful: but it soon became too plain, that much

[1] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29th June 1886.

more than this must be endured. His power of self-persuasion affected his moral judgment of men and things in his old age, in a way which, without experience, might have been thought impossible. In the electioneering campaign which has been going on ever since 1886, in season and out of season, north, south, east, and west, and in which he has played the leading part, there has been nothing to remind men of what he formerly was, except the old eloquence, and the restless activity and indomitable pluck and energy, more than ever wonderful in a man past eighty. A new "transmigration of spirit" (it cannot have been that foreseen in 1865) came over him; he accepted it with as much alacrity and apparent self-satisfaction as if it had been always so; he invested it with the authority of his age, his name, his character; and under its influence the statesman was transformed into the demagogue. Mr. Parnell became, for four years, until he himself broke the spell, the special object of his admiration; and other violent spirits of the "League" were glorified as heroes and martyrs. Mr. Gladstone had been a leading statesman for almost half a century, and had been legislating in a drastic way for Ireland since 1868. But now he persuaded himself, and endeavoured to persuade others, that he had never before understood Irish history. Whatever may have been the misdeeds of the great men who carried the Union, he had not during all those years thought it any part of his duty to inflame popular animosities by expatiating upon them; now, he

exhausted against them to the dregs the rhetoric of vituperation. Irishmen were justified in regarding a fundamental constitutional Statute, under which the whole United Kingdom had been governed for eighty-nine years, as destitute of moral authority.[1] He had many times acknowledged that the first duty of Government was "to maintain the peace and order of a country, and to secure the tranquillity of those who desire only to obey the laws, and to pursue their avocations in peace."[2] On that principle, he had in 1882 (to speak of nothing earlier) sought and obtained from Parliament large powers for the repression and prevention of intimidation and other crimes, with which the ordinary law had been found inadequate to deal. But when his successors in office, in 1887, asked and obtained for the same purposes powers similar as far as they went, but in some respects less stringent, he resisted and denounced them to the uttermost; not objecting merely that their duration was not (as in former cases) limited to a certain number of years, but representing them as directed against lawful combinations, and not against crime. He became the apologist of the methods by which his new allies carried on their warfare against landlords and the law in Ireland. In 1882, he had described "boycotting" as "combined intimidation, made use of for the purpose of

[1] "Plain speaking about the Union" (*Nineteenth Century*, July 1889).

[2] *Hansard's Debates*, 2nd August 1866: also Third Series, vol. 41, p. 634; vol. 181, p. 722. (And Guildhall Speech in 1880, *ante*, chap. xxiii. p. 16.)

destroying private liberty of choice by fear of starvation,—inflicting ruin, and driving men to do what they did not want to do, and preventing them from doing what they had a right to do"; which (he truly said) was illegal, and "quite different from the right of any man to deal with one person rather than another, and even to tell others that he was doing so."[1] Boycotting continued after 1886 to be practised as before, except so far as the Crimes Act (which he had resisted and denounced) enabled the Government to check it: there was no change in the system, its objects, or its character. But now, in his speeches, it was reduced to mere exclusive dealing, or a form of trades-unionism; "combination detached from crime";—"the only available weapon for the Irish people, in their weakness and poverty, against the wealthy and the strong."[2] In 1881, "rapine" and "plunder" were his words for the designs and operations of the League against the landowners of Ireland.[3] After 1886, those words were heard no more: and the new machinery, then invented, of the "Plan of Campaign," for determining, at the will of the "National League" without recourse to the Land Courts, what rents the tenants on whole estates should pay, and organising combined resistance to the payment of more,—was extenuated, not to say justified, because Lord Salisbury's Government had not, as soon as the new Parliament met, accepted

[1] *Hansard* (Third Series), vol. 269, p. 1551.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. 313, p. 1203; and Speech at Swansea, 4th June 1887.

[3] Speeches at Leeds and Knowsley, 6th and 28th October 1881.

from Mr. Parnell a particular plan for dealing with arrears of rent. Even the Pope, after inquiry by a Prelate[1] sent from Rome expressly for the purpose, found it his duty to condemn the immorality of "boycotting" and the "Plan of Campaign": his Rescript of 1889 did that, and no more. But of this use of the moral authority of the Chief Bishop of Western Christendom, Mr. Gladstone,—addressing some of his Wesleyan admirers in London,[2]—could say:—"The Pope was induced to fulminate what was called a Rescript against the Nationalists in Ireland. He thereby, in my opinion, at great cost to his own influence within the legitimate sphere of purely spiritual authority,—at very great cost, damage, and detriment to himself,—undoubtedly did his utmost to prop up a labouring and falling cause, namely, that of the anti-Irish party in this country." Resistance to the Crimes Act, after it had become law, was encouraged; all measures taken to enforce it were condemned; the Government, the magistrates, and even the police, were stigmatised as wrongdoers, whenever the use of force became necessary to suppress unlawful assemblies, and on other occasions when any pretext for attacking them could be found. All material facts were seen as they were represented by the partisans and organs of the "National League"; —whatever was stated on the part of the Government went for nothing.

More than this appeared to be necessary, to gain for his new Irish policy the requisite amount of

[1] Mgr. Persico. [2] 30th July 1890.

British support. There were sections of opinion in Wales, Scotland, and England, which expected demands of their own to be satisfied, and could not be got to care about Irish Home Rule except as a means towards that end: they were encouraged to believe that they might have their terms. Some people in Wales and Scotland thought that what was good for Ireland would be good for Wales and Scotland too: they were told that, if a sufficient number desired it, this might and ought to be done. Mr. Gladstone had said at Aberdeen, as far back as 1871,[1] that "if Ireland were given a Parliament of her own, Scotland and Wales would be just as well entitled to it." But at that time he added, that so "to disintegrate the great capital institutions of the country" would be "to make ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind." The political Nonconformists and their ministers, in England, Scotland, and Wales, demanded the disestablishment of the National Churches. Between them and Mr. Gladstone, demonstrations of mutual confidence were effusively interchanged; and disestablishment, first in Wales, and afterwards in Scotland, was with his concurrence declared to be part of the new "Liberal" programme, and was supported by him in Parliament by speech and vote. About England, nothing was said;—his Liberationist allies doubtless understood what the necessary sequel of the fulfilment of the promises given must be, too well to require anything explicit on that point. Gladstone's words were on record, spoken in

[1] 27th September 1871.

the House of Commons when he opposed Welsh Disestablishment in [illegible]—that there was "complete ecclesiastical, legal, and for every practical purpose historical identity between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England"[1] so as to make it "practically impossible to separate the one case from the other." Those words were as true when he abandoned the Welsh Church to its enemies, and voted for its disestablishment, as when he defended it. The question of the franchise also was to be reopened, under the ambiguous formula of "one man, one vote"—members of the House of Commons were to be paid, in order to encourage the entrance into it of men not independent in their circumstances; and Parliaments were to be triennial. To a Radical pamphleteer, who sent him a production disposing of the House of Lords in three or four pages, as "an anomaly and nuisance,"[2] which ought to be simply abolished without substituting for it any other Second Chamber,—and who urged him, before "putting aside the axe," to "hew down that huge, unsightly, and baneful tree of exclusiveness and privilege,"—his answer was of singular brevity:—"Pray accept my thanks. I fear I can say but little in extenuation, in behalf of those whom you arraign." The answer, as might have been anticipated, was circulated with the pamphlet.

[1] *Hansard* (Third Series), vol. 201, pp. 1297, 1298.

[2] These were the words of the title-page. The pamphlet was sent to me, and I suppose to other members of the House of Lords, in the winter of 1891-92.

These were not the only questions for the agitation of which occasion was taken from the new Irish policy, by those whose objects were of a different kind. No development of Radicalism was too extravagant for candidates professing it before Liberal constituencies to gain the benefit of commendatory letters from Gladstone. All sorts of schemes for parliamentary interference with rights of property, and with the freedom of capital and labour, budded and blossomed under the capacious shelter of the new Liberal "umbrella," not without a sanguine hope that, in the good time coming, they would be entertained by the great leader "with an open mind": and there was no "plain speaking," to discourage that hope. What the final issue of these things may be, cannot be foretold; but if it should be the decay and degradation of British statesmanship, and the triumph of anarchical forces, hostile to the life of freedom, "while they shout her name,"[1] Mr. Gladstone will have contributed to it more than any other man. What was said of Alcibiades; *Cujus nescio utrum bona an vitia patriae perniciosiora fuerint; illis enim cives suos decepit, his afflixit*;[2]—may possibly be the judgment of posterity on him.

Notwithstanding all this, and though men of a spirit altogether different from Mr. Gladstone's are

[1] "*Freedom, free to slay herself, and dying while they shout her name.*" Tennyson, *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After.*

[2] Valerius Maximus, lib. iii. 90, "*de indole.*" ("*It is hard to say whether his good qualities or his faults were more pernicious to his country; for by the former he misled, and by the latter brought calamities upon his fellow-citizens.*")

foremost among those who enjoy his confidence and fight by his side, my belief is, both that the colours in which he has represented things to others are those in which he has brought his own mind to see them, and that there is still in him some remnant of the old Conservative instinct, repugnant to what he now thinks himself obliged to do, and consoling itself by the imagination that his political opponents are responsible for it. Whatever he may have done, or may yet do, to increase the power of some of the adversaries of the Christian faith, he has himself not ceased to be among its defenders. Nor can I wonder, that to such as share his enthusiasms, see with his eyes, and judge with his judgments, he should appear, not (as he does to me) a Hercules no longer master of himself, using his strength blindly for ends not his own, but an Alexander who has discovered new worlds to conquer. The fascination of his conversation and personal character is sufficient to account for the fact, that there are men, well worthy of respect, who follow his guidance with an implicit trust which asks no questions, even beyond the border line which, to minds constituted like my own, appears to separate moral evil from good. I was too long under the master's spell, not to have some fellow-feeling with them—for I know how impossible it is not to admire, and how very easy to love him.

It was chiefly in 1888, both when travelling and at home, that I was enabled to make substantial

progress with the first part of these *Memorials*. The present sequel to it has occupied most of my leisure hours since. Some friends, of whom I have had occasion to make mention, have in the meantime passed away. John Bright, Sir George Rickards, and Lord Blachford, all died in 1889. And on the 17th of May 1890, a lingering illness, under which my brother Horsley had been patiently suffering for more than four years, came to an end. Greater affection there could not be, than that which I and my wife and children always experienced from him. He was a good Christian, and a good neighbour and friend to rich and poor. His strong sense and sound practical judgment gained for him respect and influence wherever he was known. Naturally vigorous and energetic, fond of country pursuits, and with tastes for which he found full scope after his retirement from active duty, he must have felt, beyond most other men, the trial of being reduced, by a slow wasting disorder, to a state of great physical helplessness. But he bore it without murmuring, and was cheerful to the last in the company of those whom he loved. His body was laid in Blackmoor churchyard, near that of my wife, —as he had desired—on the Thursday before Whitsuntide 1890. Of my brothers and sisters only two, and of the early friends of my school and college days only four[1] still remain. My own time must

[1] Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, my schoolfellow; Thomas Legh Claughton, until lately Bishop of St. Albans; Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews; and Henry Liddell, Dean of Christ Church.

soon come. Yet, as I write,[1] surrounded by the happy faces of children and grandchildren, I feel that I have cause for nothing but thankfulness; and, though I know very well my unworthiness of the least of all the mercies which I have received, and can say nothing for myself but *Miserere Domine*, I am able to look forward to the coming of that day with good courage and hope, through the Lord and Saviour in whom I have believed, and who "has redeemed me from all evil."

TO THE ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD (PALMER)

BLACKMOOR, *November* 1888.

I have finished the first part, down to our Father's death, of my *Family and Personal Memorials*. The general thread is (unavoidably) autobiographical; but as it was a principal object with me to preserve all that my materials supplied in illustration of my Father's life and character, this draws with it something (more or less) about all the family, including those still living, nor was this alien from my plan, or from my feeling. There will, however, generally be less about those still living (except myself) than about those who are gone.

If there is anything which you think it would be better to omit, I will give your suggestions full consideration, and will act upon them, unless I can give you some reason to the contrary, which I think good. I may, however, at once say, that I would *not* willingly omit anything about myself, which a merely eulogistic biographer might be disposed to suppress. I have no idea of leaving out the shadows of a picture, especially my own; and

[1] 23rd October 1890. I have added, on revision, various matters of later date, down to the end of 1891.

you will not, I think, find me guilty of having put them in with less than proper reserve. If I am to write anything about myself for the benefit of my children and of others, it must be what, so far as I know myself, is the truth.—Yours most affectionately, SELBORNE.

CHAPTER XXXV

LETTERS 1891-1895—THE END

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

Blackmoor, Petersfield, *17th February* 1891.

It was very good of you to write to me of your safe arrival at Algiers, and I shall expect soon to hear how you both get on in the desert, and what you find to do there. Have you an occasional afternoon call from a lion? Are there any inhabitants? Is it an Oasis? What sort of climate at this time of year? Are there any flowers, or any ancient ruins, of Masinirsa's or Juba's time? I suppose the world will be told all about it in the course of time. "From Charing Cross to the Sahara" would be a good title for a book of the sort which many people write on materials not more slender.

We have no news at home—and no news is good news—or at least there might be worse. Our own rest is invaded just now by the Tithe Bill having got to the House of Lords, for which we are going up to-morrow. The second reading there is to be on Thursday (the 19th), and the Committee on Tuesday the 24th. What later stages I do not know, for they have been altering the Rules of the House of Lords as to its Committees on Bills again; and now a Bill is to go to a "Grand Committee" for revision *after* it has gone through Committee in the whole House; and, I suppose, when the "Grand Committee" has done its work, it will go through another Committee of the whole House—making *three* Committee stages of the same Bill; which seems to me two more than enough. I am afraid we shall have more going backwards and forwards than I at all like.

Elliott & Fry, photo. Walker & Boutall, photo.

Ever yours affy
Selborne

As far as I can see, the Opposition mean to take advantage of the dissensions among their Irish friends (which seem now to be plainly incurable) to have a rather easier time than in former sessions in the House of Commons. They made their long-threatened attack upon Balfour about Tipperary yesterday; and the Government, in a more than usually full House, had a majority of between 70 and 80. I should not wonder if it is part of their tactics to let the Government get through their session easily enough to give them some motive for dissolving in the autumn, and to come in, with the majority which they expect, before Gladstone has completed his eighty-second year. If the majority is got upon the lines of Socialism and Trades Unionism, I should think it may be less manageable than they would desire when they have got it.

. . . . . .

The new Bishop of Peterborough is to be Creighton, the historian, whose book about the Papacy of the time between Boniface VIII. and the Reformation I have lately been reading. It is a very good book, and gives a very good impression of the writer.—Ever your affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *3rd October* 1891.

The letter which you enclosed to me from the *Times* is only one of those things which crop up plentifully in this dull season of the year. It is too true that there *are* difficulties (for which the Church is not, and her adversaries in part are, responsible) in the way of getting a better discipline, by which drones, and those who are superannuated, and those who are worse, might be got rid of, or reduced in number. And it is also true that these things do help the chances of Disestablishment, both with impatient people, like the writer in the *Times*, within the Church, and with malignants outside.

As to my writing to the *Times* on these subjects, it is out of the question. I cannot deny the facts so far as they exist; and to what extent they are, or are not, exaggerated, is more than I know. Every one who cares about the truth knows, that the Bishops do attempt in every session to get something done by

way of cure, but that whatever is done in the Lords falls through in the Commons. And I am afraid, if the whole truth is to be told, that those attempts are not very well liked by the clergy themselves. Some of them are extremely jealous of any interference with their vested interests; others are equally jealous of parliamentary legislation in Church matters; some are sticklers for form and technicality in everything relating to the clerical office, to the extent even of objecting to the deprivation, *ipso facto*, of beneficed clergymen convicted of crime, unless the Bishop goes through some form, for the purpose of taking away the spiritual authority conferred by institution.

I think you are a little out of your depth when you say that "if disestablished the Church would still have to go to Parliament to make new laws." That would not be the case. The Assemblies of the Disestablished Church would, doubtless, be empowered by the new voluntary constitution which it would in some way receive, to make laws for themselves—binding, of course, only on the footing of agreement, and on those only who might have assented, directly or indirectly, to the terms of the Church under that new constitution. There might be many difficulties and dangers ahead; but the Disestablished Church would have to solve them for itself: Parliament certainly would not legislate, and would not be asked to legislate, for them.—Ever your most affectionate Father,

SELBORNE.

To J. B. HERBERT, ESQ.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *8th October* 1891.

I have to thank you very much for sending me your most excellent pamphlet. We live in strange times, and the advantage sought to be taken of the credulity of the ignorant and the cupidity of the indigent is such as, I confess, I never expected to see encouraged by men in high places among us, as I am sorry to say it is. I daresay things will right themselves in the end, though much that is valuable may be first destroyed.

I shall not myself live to see, either the whole work of destruction, or the reaction which may be expected to follow it; but I cannot, on that account, be indifferent to what concerns

my children and grandchildren, my friends and neighbours of all ranks, and my Church and country.—Believe me, dear sir, yours faithfully, SELBORNE.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

THURGARTON PRIORY, SOUTHWELL, NOTTS,
20th November 1891.

We spent four nights with the Archbishop of York and three at Leeds with the Talbots, both which visits we enjoyed much. Have you seen a *French* biography of Gladstone, by "*Marie Dronsart*," which I have been reading? It was published at Paris, in 1873, by *Callman Levy*. Use is made in it of most of the English materials accessible down to this year—*not*, however, including your Life of Lord Aberdeen. The authoress has been at great pains, and has shown a good deal of discernment in the use which she has made of her materials. Her portraiture of the great man is (politically) by no means flattering, but, upon the whole, it is too true, and frequently reminds me of what I have myself written. But she blames some parts of his policy more (at all events) than I who shared his responsibility for these measures could do; and (following, perhaps, Mr. Jennings) she extends her disparagement even to his financial measures. She writes under the influence, on some points, of Roman Catholic, and, on others, of French feelings; and her sympathies, politically, are with Disraeli and the Conservatives. It seems to me, however, far from improbable that the judgment of posterity may be much the same as hers.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

What a mercy that the coal strike is over! The Government deserves praise for its arbitration.

To Lady Laura Ridding

33 GROSVENOR ROAD, *30th November* 1891.

Your dear birthday letter was most welcome, and I pray God to reward you and George for all your love to me and mine, as well as for all your other good works, which I hope He will prosper. It is not necessary to make comparisons; but your

husband is doing the work of a Bishop indeed, and, whatever judgments or mercies are yet in store for our Church, good must come out of that, whether we may, or may not, live to see it.

I am sure that George will regret, as I do, the death of the Bishop of Carlisle[1]; an able, honest, and on the whole a right-judging man. It will be difficult, I fear, to fill his place well.—Believe me, ever your most affectionate Father,

SELBORNE.

To J. EASTLEY, ESQ.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 28th *December* 1891.

It was very kind of you to send me a line of Christmas wishes, and the more so because I had forgotten to thank you for the letter you wrote me on the 28th of July last, and your paper on my friend, the late Lord Granville, in the *Freeman*. Lord Granville was the last (I am afraid) of a class of statesmen who brought the highest degree of refinement and courtesy into all the affairs of public life in which he was engaged, in combination with great powers of mind, and an admirable judgment of men and things, whenever he allowed it fair play. And to these qualities he added perfect honour. He therefore well deserved your eulogy.—I remain, dear sir, yours faithfully,

SELBORNE.

TO THE MOTHER EMILY

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 29*th December* 1891.

It has pleased God, after a short but severe attack of influenza, to take Joshua Finch from us. He died about half-past ten last night, and is to be buried here at 3 P.M. on Friday, New Year's Day. Willie and Maud are away for two or three nights, but I hope will be able to return for the funeral.

To me the loss is in this world irreparable. I have been greatly blessed in trustworthy servants—I should rather call them helpers and friends. For my children's sake, rather than my own, I pray earnestly that God may be pleased now to send me another like those who are gone, who will be faithful as

[1] Bishop Harvey Goodwin.

serving *Him* in everything, and for His sake will be content also to give faithful service to us.

You will feel for us and with us, and old Mixbury recollections will come in too. That God may give you, and all those to whose service for His sake your life has been so long devoted, His best Christmas blessings, is the prayer of, dearest Emily, your affectionate Brother, SELBORNE.

To G. H. F. NYE, ESQ.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 31*st December* 1891.

The matter of your letter does not impress itself on my mind as important; but your judgment on that point may be better than mine with reference to the sort of controversy which you have to conduct. But this Mr. Hallett's notions, about the term "*Reverend*," are too absurd, as well as baseless, to affect seriously even the feeblest mind. If you think them worth answering at all, I am afraid I must say, with the Bishop of Oxford, that you must wait for such assistance as I can give you till I am with my law-books, which will not be till the 26th of January; and I cannot but think the matter may very well wait till then. I could indeed, without difficulty, say *now*, what I am quite sure I shall be able to verify with proper references when I have the necessary books at hand, viz. that Lord Coke (whose authority as a lawyer must not be spoken of disrespectfully) *never* spoke or wrote of the Church of England as a "new Church" created by the Reformation Statutes; and as to the notion of the law or the Crown having ever imposed the title "*Reverend*" upon the judges or any one else, or of the clergy having in some way assumed it without authority, it is utterly preposterous. The epithet has come into use, by natural and spontaneous processes, as a term of respect, sometimes as to one class of men, and sometimes as to another, but never, that I have heard or read, by any sort of general public authority.

Whatever can be learnt on that subject was, I have no doubt, brought out by the industry of Counsel, in the case which was taken to the Privy Council by way of appeal from Sir Robert Phillimore a few years ago, and which will be found in the Reports of ecclesiastical cases—a case in which an incumbent

of a parish in the diocese of Lincoln removed or defaced a tombstone, on which a deceased Wesleyan minister (named, I think, *Kete*, or something like it) was described as *Reverend*. This action of the incumbent was upheld by Bishop Wordsworth (under the advice of Sir Walter Phillimore, his chancellor) and by Sir Robert Phillimore on appeal: but their Judgments were reversed by the Queen in Council, on the ground that "*Reverend*" was not an ecclesiastical title of status or dignity, but a term of popular usage and courtesy, which being, by common usage, ascribed to Wesleyan and other Nonconformist ministers by those using their ministrations and many others, might, without breach of any ecclesiastical or other law, be inscribed upon the tombstone of such a person in a churchyard as well as elsewhere. Mr. Hallett is evidently acquainted with this case, and he has probably borrowed from it all that may make any approach to truth in his communication to the *Echo*.

If you were impatient of delay (for which impatience I see no good reason, so I hope you will not be), I have no doubt Sir James Parker Deane, the Archbishop's vicar-general, could give you the exact reference to the case I have mentioned in the Law Reports, and you could see it in the library of any one of the Inns of Court, to which (I should suppose) you would find no difficulty in obtaining access.

The designation of *Reverend* was not within my conception of subjects which required treatment in my *Defence of the Church*.

Pray let me know whether you would wish to hear from me again after the 26th January. It is best not to write hastily anything which such a person as Mr. S. Hallett can pick any hole in. The man's measure may be taken, not only from his first communication to the *Echo*, but from his letter to you. His postscript about the *congé d'elire* (which is the same now as before the Reformation, and the use of which was never interrupted except in Edward VI.'s reign) is what Dominie Sampson might call "*prodigious*." And his whole letter reminds me of one of Disraeli's boldest flights in his *Vivian Grey*. The hero of that novel, while on a visit to a country house where there is a large party, had a scene late at night with a lady, who uttered a loud scream, heard all over the house. The next morning, at break-

fast, conversation turned upon this scream, and much desire was shown to find out the explanation of it. Vivian Grey says he can explain it: he is a fancier of curious birds, and one was sent down to him in a cage, which he unpacked the last thing at night, and, on getting free, it uttered that scream and made at once for the window, which was open, and escaped. A gentleman of the party, being a great ornithologist, opened his eyes and ears very wide, and asked for a more particular description of the bird. Vivian Grey was equal to the occasion and gave it, on which the ornithologist said there could not possibly be any such bird. "*No such bird!*" said Vivian Grey; "I think there is a copy of Buffon in the library here, and I will get it, and read you the description of that bird which is there." So he goes to the library, gets a volume of Buffon, and reads the description, in proper scientific form, before the assembled party. "*Impossible,*" says the man of science. "*Give me the book.*" Whereupon Vivian Grey shuts the book, and hands it closed to the unbeliever, rising at the same time from table, and followed by all the rest of the company, whose curiosity has been satisfied. The ornithologist remains behind, but looks in vain through the book for the passage supposed to have been read.—Believe me, dear sir, yours faithfully, SELBORNE.

G. H. F. Nye, Esq.

As to Mr. Hallett's assertion, that the Reformed Church of England was spoken of by Sir Edward Coke as "a new Church."

Mr. Hallett, when asked for some reference to any place in which such language of Sir Edward Coke was to be found, gave none, but said that Mr. Nye would "find the information he required in the cases and papers relating to the matter of the *Prohibitions*"; and that, of the "great mass of literature on this subject, the most accessible would be the collected works of Lord Bacon and of Chief Justice Coke; and that Mr. Nye, upon referring to the Indexes, under the head '*Prohibitions*,' would get the necessary references." I have referred to the Indexes, both of Mr. Spedding's fourteen volumes of the collected works of Lord Bacon, and of all the published works of Chief Justice Coke, both under the head "*Prohibitions*," and under every other head which could have any bearing on the subject; and (as I

knew very well would be the case) I found nothing to justify, directly or indirectly, Mr. Hallett's statement.

In his Second Institute, Sir Edward Coke introduces (*in extenso*, at pages 601-618) the "Articles exhibited by Archbishop Bancroft, in the name of the whole Clergy, in Michaelmas Term 3 Jacobi Regis, to the Lords of the Privy Council against the Judges of the Realm, entitled '*Certain articles of abuses which are desired to be reproved in granting of Prohibitions*,' and the answers thereunto, upon mature deliberation and consideration, in Easter Term following, by all the Judges of England and the Barons of the Exchequer, with one unanimous consent, under their hands, which were delivered to the Lords of the Council." Not only is there no suggestion in any of the judges' "Answers" of the Reformed Church of England being a "new Church," but the contrary is throughout implied; because the precedents of mediæval times are treated as applicable to the existing ecclesiastical jurisdictions. And in the case of Fuller, which came before the Court in which Sir E. Coke presided for Prohibition (and is reported in the 12th Part of Coke's Reports, p. 42), the same law of Prohibition, as applied to the Ecclesiastical Courts, is supported by the authority of Bracton (temp. Henry III.), and by cases in the Year-Books of Edward III., Henry IV., Henry V., Edward IV., and Henry VII. And, in the great case of *Cawdrey*, or (as Sir E. Coke calls it) "The King's Ecclesiastical Law," Sir Edward Coke lays it down, that Queen Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy "was not a Statute introductory of a new law, but declaratory of the old"; and he goes into an elaborate proof of this proposition both from the celebrated preamble to King Henry VIII.'s Statute for Restraint of Appeals (see my *Defence of the Church of England*, etc., p. 31) and from charters and laws, etc., of Kenulph (A.D. 755) Edward the Confessor, William I., Henry I., Henry III., and every succeeding king down to Henry VIII. And in the "*Case of Premunire*" (twelve Reports, p. 38) he says of the High Commission Court, "Although it be a *new Court yet the ancient Statutes extend to it*," as (he adds) they did to "the Courts of the new Bishoprics erected in the time of Henry VIII." SELBORNE.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 17*th January* 1892.

I have myself got at last out of hand the proofs of the new edition, which will soon come out, of my *Facts and Fictions*, etc., which, as the only work of much criticism or research which I have ever attempted, I have wished to leave behind me with the deficiencies and imperfections of the first edition corrected to the best of my power. This would have been done months ago but for the appearance, just when I was flattering myself that there was nothing more to do, of a jaunty, flippant, and aggressive Liberationist book upon the history of Tithes (by a clergyman named Clarke, who seems to be one of those birds which delight in fouling their own nest), of which the writer (by a civil letter, though the book is by no means civil) gave me notice, supposing himself to have confuted me on certain points. I did not find myself confuted; but I found matters of which it seemed right to take some notice, especially as he put his finger on one or two verbal slips (of no real importance) which I should not otherwise have corrected. So the result is, that I have appended to my new edition a Supplement, of about forty pages, which few persons will read with any interest, but in which the few συνέτοι will (I hope) find additional proof that, when I enter upon anything like critical research, I do not spare pains to be accurate, however dry the matter may be.

The influenza is still in our house—one servant takes it as another recovers; but we have ourselves, so far, been spared; and, except Finch, none have had it fatally or even dangerously. It is just now very general here and in this neighbourhood, but so, indeed, it seems to be all over England, and in other countries too. Its great diffusion and constant liability to recur (especially in the cold season of the year) make it a very serious and formidable kind of pestilence, though less violent than epidemics generally are.

I do not know whether the Duke of Clarence has been one of its victims, or whether his *pneumonia* was the primary disorder to which his death was due. I do not think there has been a more tragic event in our time, or one which is more likely to touch the hearts of the people generally, or at least of those who have not

been thoroughly demoralised by the spirit of Republican Radicalism; and the good feeling towards the Queen and Royal Family, thus called forth, may perhaps prove a new bond of affection between *masses* and *classes*. God grant that it may be so.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To the Archdeacon of Oxford (Palmer)

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 28*th January* 1892.

I need not say that the good report you were able to make of dear Emily was cheering to us. For the opinion that she was not likely to be allowed to resume her work at St. Cyprian's, I am quite prepared, and I trust that, when the doctor makes her understand that there is no choice, she will acquiesce with her usual submission to God's will, and be able, with Mr. Gutch's help (and any that any of us can give her), to make such arrangements for the future as may prevent care and anxiety about it.

It must come to all of us, sooner or later, to wind up our accounts with this world, as I feel it *has* come to me; and I think it is matter for thankfulness if we can do so betimes, before a total failure of physical or mental powers.

The influenza has been terribly prevalent among our poor neighbours here, and has not yet ceased in our own house. Several of our poor have had their lives in the balance; but I am not sure that any death, except Joshua's, has been due to this cause.

We like the Bevans more and more with longer acquaintance, and the prevalence of this illness has made a demand upon his energies to which he has proved equal.

You will regret, as I do, the loss of Canon Burrows; a good man, who, I hope, will leave an heir to his principles and virtues, as well as his name, in the son whom you knew at Christ Church.—Ever yours most affectionately, SELBORNE.

To Lady Margaret Waldegrave

33 Grosvenor Road, Westminster, 28*th June* 1892.

Aunt Freda gave you your birthday twelve shillings from me, but I must give you, from myself, my best blessing. I hope every year of your life will be happier and better than the last; and that you may give more and more happiness to your dear

parents, and sister, and brother; and may grow in favour with God and man, as you do in body and mind.—Believe me, always your most affectionate Grandfather, SELBORNE.

TO THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *6th July* 1892.

You can easily believe that I rejoice in my son's success, well earned by indefatigable work, not in his canvass only, but generally in the cause, which he, like myself, regards as that of the country.

The elections, as far as they have gone, seem to me completely to negative the idea of a stormy wave of public opinion on Gladstone's side, carrying all before it.

Whatever wave there is seems to me to be unmistakably in a Socialistic, rather than a Home Rule direction. Some of his reverses—*e.g.* Nottingham, Barrow, Wolverhampton, Chester, Stockton, Perth,—and the closeness of the contests in a large number of cases are (I think) strong evidence that opinion is so nearly balanced as to make it quite as probable as not that the pendulum may swing against him at another election, at least as strongly as it may do in his favour now. Such gains as he has obtained, and may yet obtain, will probably be enough to bring him into power, *perhaps* with as large a majority as that of the present Government at the time of the dissolution (though I hardly expect it), but certainly not with as large a one as he and his more sanguine friends look for. But the *quality* of it, as far as I can judge, will not make it an inevitable exponent of the national will. Such as it may be, it will have been obtained by the sheer force of the persevering and energetic handling of the machinery of the *caucus*, by Mr. Schnadhorst and his coadjutors ever since 1886; the whole time has been one incessant electioneering campaign, and the result will certainly be much less than if the horse had been ready to go a great pace without continual flogging.

However, as not more than about 250 members have yet been elected, and the *counties* are still to come, I will postpone further prophesying till after the event.

I have read through Lord Rosebery's *Life of Pitt*, which, I think, deserves all the praise it has received.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *14th July* 1892.

The county elections have gone worse than I expected, especially as only *one* county seat in England has been *gained*, so far, by Conservative or Unionist. Our own election is to-day, the result to be declared to-morrow. We are hopeful about it, but not absolutely confident.

I am particularly sorry for Cranborne, Arthur Elliot, and Finlay.

The most striking facts of the whole election (which I now think will give Gladstone a majority of not much less than fifty) are the enormous reduction of Gladstone's own majority in Midlothian (I should like to know what he thinks and says about it) and of Morley's numbers at Newcastle.

Many of the Government *defeats* have been by majorities small enough to be easily reversed at future elections, and it seems to be quite on the cards that *by-elections*, during this Parliament, may go as much *against* Gladstone as they did *for* him in the last. The number, generally, at the polls may well suggest to him a more cautious policy than many of his friends are inclined to; and I should not think they would encourage another early dissolution.

19th July 1892.

. . . I agree with you about political prophecies. But my own judgment of what is likely to happen is, that Gladstone, remembering his age, and that he is not more than half-hearted about these other things, for which he has often said he would not have deprived his latter days of the rest which he has so often appeared to desire, will stick to his colours, and will not enter upon the dangerous experiment of putting a Reform Bill before Home Rule.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *1st August* 1892.

Sophy is laid up with an attack of influenza, and I have had a cold for some days. This came on, almost simultaneously in both cases, on Thursday last, preventing us from going (as we had intended) to St. Albans, to be present at my very dear friend Bishop Claughton's funeral.

The same week, which removed that best and best-beloved of the friends of my early youth, removed also another of still

older date, with whom I have always been on cordial terms, though he was less congenial to me—Lord Sherbrooke.

The new Administration and new Parliament will have an uphill business before them, whether your expectation or mine of what they may first attempt to do is correct. I hear different opinions as to the probable duration of the Parliament; some give them two years, others only one. If they hold on through three years they may do a good deal of questionable work in that time.

My son has shown me his book of calculations, made up before the elections; and its close accuracy as to the general results, in each of the four parts of the United Kingdom (treating Wales as one), in the counties also, and in the cities and boroughs, in each part (though not equally correct as to all the particular seats lost or won), is *astonishing*.

14*th November* 1892.

As to current politics I will at present say nothing, except that the proceedings of the "Evicted Tenants Commission" have but confirmed my original opinion as to the character of that measure of our present rulers. Did anybody ever before hear of an inquiry by Royal Commission not judicially conducted, having no power to receive evidence on oath, and sheltering itself against the safeguards of cross-examination by the distinction between Royal and Parliamentary Commissions, into *questions of individual and personal right, and the manner in which particular landowners have enforced legal remedies for their legal rights*, for the avowed purpose of laying a ground for some reversal of those remedies and disturbance of those rights? Nothing worse, or more unconstitutional, was ever done by James the Second, or by the Long Parliament.—Ever yours, SELBORNE.

TO THE ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD (PALMER)

33 GROSVENOR ROAD, WESTMINSTER, 28*th November* 1892.

Your letter on my birthday is the most to my heart of all that I have received. You understand, that while I am well content to remain, as long as it may please God, on this side of the line which divides us from the unseen world, I cannot presume to expect any much greater prolongation of my days; though the love of those whom I shall leave behind whenever I

go, prevents me from feeling that the strength which yet remains "*is but labour and sorrow.*"

I am afraid it was too much for dear Emily, going up to St. Cyprian's as she did. But even if it be so, I do not think I should repent of it if I were in her place; and, therefore, I do not see that *we* need do so for her.—Ever yours most affectionately, SELBORNE.

To LADY WILFREDA BIDDULPH

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 1*st January* 1893.

I most heartily wish you and Dos all possible happiness throughout the year now begun and always; and this is a wish one can safely indulge in, without any fear of disappointment, so long as by God's grace and goodness our hearts are whole with Him.

As for public affairs, *they* are in His hand; and He will order them as is right in His sight, whether in judgment or in mercy. No doubt our sins and shortcomings, and those of our forefathers, have been many and great enough to call down judgments, though He has been and still is long-suffering, and if they come we must own them to be just. But happen what may, we need not be cast down, if we do but try to be faithful in those things which directly concern ourselves. . . .

There has been good skating on Wolmer Pond; but, as some snow has fallen to-day, I suppose there will not be much more. —Ever your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To RALPH C. PALMER, ESQ.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 1*st February* 1893.

I have *no evidence* to offer on the subject of your letter, but I am perfectly ready to give you my opinion. I continue to think that, as Chairman of the former Commission, and one of the Privy Councillors who heard the petition of University College and King's College, it is *not* desirable or fitting that I should appear as a *quasi-witness* before your Commission. I am, however, decidedly of opinion that there *ought* to be a Law Faculty in any teaching University for London, and that the Commissioners would do well to frame their suggestions on that

subject so as to *invite* (in some such way as was done in the draft Charter passed by the Privy Council) the co-operation of the Inns of Court and the Incorporated Law Society. Whether the co-operation of the Inns of Court could be *secured*, I cannot undertake to say; the Benchers of some of the Inns have, hitherto, shown no alacrity in that direction. But I think from what I know of the more recent dispositions of some of the leading and most influential Benchers of Lincoln's Inn (to which I myself belong), that they would not long hold aloof, if invited to take a part worthy of them in the constitution, etc., of a Law Faculty in the supposed University. As to the co-operation of the Incorporated Law Society, I entertain no doubt.—Believe me ever, my dear Ralph, yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *2nd March* 1893.

You must have thought your old man ungrateful in not sooner answering your most sweet and always welcome letters. But you know, I daresay, that I have had such a complication of discomforts from gout and cold (now very slowly getting better) as to make me quite unfit for anything.

Things here continue to develop, and the system of bringing in Bills to satisfy all the different sections of Gladstone's majority, who require them as the price of their support, is being unblushingly pursued. Some of those Bills are treated by some of our friends as comparatively harmless; but I doubt whether they are not *all* for mere party objects, very ill (if at all) disguised. The proposition to enable a two-thirds majority of the voters of any parish, or any smaller ward of a borough, to shut up *all* the public-houses in that area, within three years, without compensation, seems to me an attempt, scarcely so much as ingenious, to unite the appearance of a compliance with Sir Wilfrid Lawson's and Canon Wilberforce's wishes with the interposition, *in most places*, of an insuperable obstacle to them. For there can be very few places, I think, in which such a two-thirds majority would ever be obtained, especially when its effects would be suspended for three years. And the very smallness of the area (in towns where the evil is greatest) would be against the chance of such a majority being obtained. To shut up all the public-houses in

one ward (say of Marylebone) while all were left open in the adjoining wards, would be a combination of injustice and ineffectiveness which would make it all but impossible to give such a vote, even where the anti-publicans were strongest. And this Bill does not enable that or any other majority to stop the *increase* of licensed houses within a particular area, without shutting up all those already licensed, in which, however, hotels and eating-houses are not included. I wonder what Gladstone's brewer friends will say to this Bill.

The Welsh Church Suspensory Bill has been in my hands, at the suggestion of a great authority, to prepare a protest against it for publication, with a small number of signatures (of more or less considerable persons) in the first instance, to whom others may afterwards signify their accession. You will see it in the English papers a few days hence.—Ever your most affectionate Father,

SELBORNE.

To SIR WALTER FARQUHAR, BART.

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 15th *May* 1893.

It is always agreeable to me to know that you approve of anything which I have said or done.

The meeting in the Albert Hall was all that could have been desired: a magnificent spectacle, and in every way a great success, and of good promise for the future. It was not without reluctance that I undertook my part in it, fearing that I should not have voice or strength sufficient for so great a space. But the Archbishop urged it upon me, and I am thankful to have been helped to get through it as well as I did.

It is intended to print a corrected and full report of *all* the proceedings, both as they actually take place in English and in a Welsh translation, to be as widely circulated as possible. Believe me ever, dear Sir Walter, very truly yours,

SELBORNE.

To THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (BENSON)

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 15th *May* 1893.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP—I must thank you for your very kind letter. I must own that I feared my voice and strength would

be more unequal to the duty imposed upon me on Tuesday than they seem to have been; and I am thankful to have been enabled to go through with it, without any worse consequence than being unable to pay my respects to your Grace and Mrs. Benson in the evening, as I hoped to have done. I am glad to hear that the full report of the proceedings will be published in Welsh as well as English.

I must congratulate you upon the wisdom which designed the meeting, and upon its complete success.—I remain, ever your Grace's faithful servant, SELBORNE.

On 24th June Lord Selborne presided at the Gilbert White Centenary in Selborne village, and recalled in his speech that "when Mr. Evarts visited Blackmoor in 1872, he, like all cultivated Americans, knew Gilbert White's book almost by heart; and on seeing the Sussex Downs burst into laughter and quoted the description of them as 'a vast range of mountains.' Apart from this instance of, it must be confessed, inaccurate language, the book abounds in evidence of Gilbert White's shrewdness of discernment—a most valuable gift,—and he loved all God's creatures, especially birds, reminding us of two great men: the one, mythical, was Melampus . . . the other was St. Francis of Assisi. . . . The legend of his preaching to the birds at least showed his love for them and his power of attracting them to him. Some thought of Gilbert White solely as a naturalist, but this was an error. In the words of his most recent editor, Professor Bell, 'his life may truly be said to have been passed in the constant and diligent fulfilment of the duties of his holy office'; and he had the gift, in a remarkable degree, of attaching to him-

self people of every kind and age, and perhaps especially the young. There had been some controversy as to a memorial to Gilbert White. The best memorial already existed: Gilbert White's own book."

On 28th June Lord Selborne went to Dublin to receive an Honorary Degree from the University, and was the guest of the Provost, Dr. Salmon, whose welcome, as also that of the other members of the University, he much appreciated. Unfortunately we were obliged to return to London on the 31st, and, owing to the excessive heat of the weather, he was somewhat knocked up, and less able to enjoy his visit.

On the 26th July, he took part in the Quincentenary of the foundation of Winchester College.

To the Archdeacon of Oxford (Palmer)

The College, Winchester, 26*th July* 1893.

Our celebration yesterday went off as well as possible. The weather was all that we could have wished. The only drawbacks were that both the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury were obliged to leave us before the dinner, at which speeches were made, and at which, if they could have stayed, they would both have spoken. The Archbishop was looking far from well; I heartily hope he may not suffer from having made an effort to keep, at all events, his engagement to preach the sermon, which he did, much to our satisfaction.

The Prince of Wales was accompanied by his brother, the Duke of Connaught; they were both very gracious, and seemed thoroughly interested and pleased. The concourse was immense.—Yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

Despite the almost tropical heat of this summer, Lord Selborne was incessantly engaged in promoting the causes he had at heart; and on 12th August he

attended a meeting in Winchester to consider the question of a Liberal Unionist Federation for Hampshire, which he strongly urged, and to which when started he gave all the support in his power. In the following month he spoke in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Bill for granting Home Rule to Ireland, putting forth all his strength against the measure. The speech was characterised as "an effort remarkable at any age"; "remarkable for its close and cogent reasoning, delivered by a man past his eightieth year"; and as astonishing by its brilliancy and overpowering force and subtlety.[1]

To the Archdeacon of Oxford

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 10*th September* 1893.

I was pleased to receive your letter. The *Times* report of my speech contains a few blunders, which an intelligent reader will correct for himself, and it is rather less correct towards the end (to say nothing of things left out) than in the rest. But I have no reason to be otherwise than content, both with that report and with the opinions I have heard expressed. I daresay my voice was weaker towards the end, which is not surprising, as I am afraid I occupied an hour and three-quarters. I am glad the thing is done, and it is not probable that I shall ever have to do the like again.

My leather bag, full of notes and papers for the debate, and also containing some unanswered letters, and other things which I am sorry to lose, was left at night in a cab in which Sophy and I returned to Portland Place from the House of Lords after Tuesday's debate,[2] and, not having been deposited in Scotland

[1] Lord Rosebery; *Times*, and *Standard*.

[2] Lord Selborne had spent the best part of Monday and Tuesday in making these notes, and in the full expectation of recovering the bag, did not take fresh notes. In consequence his speech on the Thursday was made without any. The loss of the bag was discovered

Yard before we left town yesterday, it is to be feared that it fell into dishonest hands. But the thing has happened and cannot now be helped.—Ever yours most affectionately, SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

Blackmoor, Petersfield, *25th September* 1893.

I cannot tell you with what pleasure I read George's sermon to the British Association, as printed in the *Guardian*. I thought it superlatively good, both in matter and in expression. Of course it will be separately published; and of course he will send me and Sophy copies. She likes it as much as I do.

The Master of Balliol is now at Headley, but *so ill* that I doubt whether he may not die there.—Believe me, ever your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To the Countess Waldegrave

Blackmoor, Petersfield, *25th September* 1893.

. . . We have been delighted to have dear May here. If any rain comes (but it seems as if it never would, for the very few showers we have had have been as scanty as possible, and the succession of cold cloudy days, without a drop falling, is most tantalising) we shall be soon relieved from fear about our water. But, if the dry weather continues, Oakhanger Pond and the moat in our garden will soon be as dry as Wolmer Pond has been for a month or more. Every pond and pool, at which cattle are usually watered, is gone; and our reservoir, though not quite so low as it has been (for we have lately been economising the use of it), is very low. Willie brought a "water-finder" from Wiltshire, to see if he could find, near the reservoir, any underground water which could be used for increasing the supply there; and he did find it, as he *said*, but till this is verified by sinking to the necessary depth, I shall suspend my

immediately, before even the doors of 30 Portland Place were closed; the servant went instantly to fetch the bag, but the cab had driven away and though pursued could not be stopped. The bag contained nothing of value beyond the notes, and had Lord Selborne's full address on a brass plate, but it never was heard of again.

belief, though the same man has been successful in finding it at Hatfield, and for Lord Jersey.[1]—Ever your affectionate Father,

SELBORNE.

TO THE ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD (PALMER)

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 25*th September* 1893.

. . . I am afraid that the Master of Balliol is in a most critical state. He is at this moment at Mr. Justice Wright's house at Headley. I wrote to the Judge to ask whether the Master would be able to see us. The tenor of his answer is that, if he could, it would only be for a farewell, evidently thinking him in a state from which he is not likely to rally. I suppose this must be known at Oxford, but I cannot help regretting that he is not there.

No doubt, when one's last hour comes, it signifies but little (at least to ourselves) *where* it may overtake us. But still, if I might choose, I should like best to die at home.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 26*th September* 1893.

. . . I have just been over to Headley, where both Sophy and I saw the Master of Balliol. He knew, and was very affectionate towards us both, and said some very kind words of your Jem. He was evidently suffering pain, and spoke with difficulty, and was not able clearly to articulate all his words. Whether he wandered at all or not, I am not quite sure, but I thought he did so, a little. Sir R. Wright thinks he may pass away before another day is over, but I doubt it. Sir William Markby is there, and his Oxford doctor has been; so, no doubt, it will be known in Oxford what others, besides Sir R. Wright, think of his state.

28*th September* 1893.

. . . I have heard nothing from Sir Robert Wright to-day, but yesterday he wrote that he did not expect the Master of Balliol to live through the day. I suppose he is still living, and my own impression, when I saw him on Tuesday, was, that he was not quite so near the end as Sir Robert thought.

[1] The divining rod proved successful.

To-morrow I shall send to inquire, unless I hear anything in the meantime.

Sir Robert and Lady Wright will remain at Headley as long as the Master remains in his present state. I think there is an almost filial affection on the Judge's part towards him, which he reciprocates.

The Master showed a tenderness of feeling towards both Sophy and myself, for which I was hardly prepared.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (BENSON)

BLACKMOOR, *30th September* 1893.

I daresay it will be right for Convocation, and also the House of Laymen, to meet for the purpose of considering the Parish Councils Bill. I have studied the Bill pretty closely, and it seems to me that church schools (and any other church trusts, if there are any others which require protection) may be sufficiently protected by a proper amendment of the Interpretation clause. As at present advised, I should not be disposed to recommend to churchmen any active opposition to the secular arrangements of the Bill; which, as far as I can judge, will do nothing worse than increase the rates in some places, and perhaps give fiery persons an opportunity of making themselves troublesome, where any ill-will exists. But where there are not those elements, I think its effect will be but small; and it is not impossible, that in some places it may do good, by promoting sanitary arrangements which are now neglected, and by giving an impulse to labourers' allotments.

I am far from sure that it was wise to make the *parish*, rather than the Poor Law Union, the *unit* for Local Government or to lower the qualification for Poor Law Guardians, etc. But, whether these arrangements are the best possible or not, I should think it a mistake, politically, to insist on doubts or differences of opinion about them, where no principle is involved.

I hardly see how the Government can, with any show of consistency or reason, object to the exclusion from the Bill of church schools, and any other church trusts into which considerations properly ecclesiastical may enter.—Believe me, your Grace's faithful servant, SELBORNE.

TO THE HON. MABEL L. G. PALMER

6th October 1893.

This is a birthday letter for you, though I am afraid you will not get it on your birthday. I not only wish you many many happy returns of the day, but I wish you every day to be wiser and better, and so you will be sure to be happy as long as you live, and afterwards too. I hope you and dear Top will not be very much tired with all the sights you will see, in Dresden and other foreign towns. *You* are old enough to take an interest in some of them, but I am afraid Top is not.

You must be very kind to him, and if your Papa and Mama sometimes want you to keep him company when they are out, I hope you will do all that you can to amuse him and prevent him from getting into mischief.

That God may ever bless you both, and keep you both from all evil, is the prayer always, dearest child, of your most affectionate Grandfather, SELBORNE.

The Hon. Mabel L. G. Palmer.

P.S.—I have no doubt that if you give the cheque for nine shillings which I send to Mama, she will give you the money.

Give Top my best love and a kiss from me. I got Bobby's letter and was very much pleased.

The subject of the Parish Councils Bill was discussed at the Winchester Diocesan Conference, 28th October, in which Lord Selborne took a leading part, and laid much stress upon the duty of doing all that was possible to make it work well.

TO LADY LAURA RIDDING

HOAR CROSS, BURTON-ON-TRENT, *27th November* 1893.

Thanks, dearest Lolly, for your birthday telegram, the first birthday message I have received, excepting from May, Madge,

and Teddy, who wrote beforehand. No post has come in here this morning. I am, thank God, as well as I was last year, and all the better for my restful visit to Thurgarton; but I need not say that I cannot and do not reckon upon more birthdays.

Our friends here are very kind; and this, as well as our other visits during this month's excursion, will leave pleasant memories behind it. Love to George.—Ever your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To the Rev. S. R. Davies Cooke

Blackmoor, Petersfield, *27th November* 1893.

Dear Sir—That the clergy of the Church of England, as well as those of the Greek and Latin Churches of the Oriental and Roman Communions, have received their ordination in a line of unbroken succession from the Apostles is (according to my view of historical evidence) one of the most certain of historical facts. And I understand the phrase "*Apostolical Succession*" as simply expressing this fact. That any clergyman should be thought worthy of blame for referring to this fact, as constituting at least one of the claims of the Church of England to the office and authority of a branch of the true Church of Christ, is a thing which I should hardly have thought possible, if there were not always some who prefer the language of compromise to that of truth.—I remain, yours faithfully, SELBORNE.

To Lord Stanmore

13th December 1893.

What a sad domestic tragedy has come upon the Gladstones, in addition to the weight of public cares,—if, indeed, public cares are a weight to him at all! But I should think this sad end of a servant, who has been with them for more than twenty years, and who must have come to them as a boy, must be acutely felt by them all. I know that if it had happened to me, I should have thought of nothing else for a long time, and should have been as unhappy as if the man had been of my own family.

We met Froude at Hatfield, a man of agreeable conversation, but not removing by his conversation the impression made by his books. I believe he is a more successful *lecturer* on

Modern History at Oxford than any of his predecessors, from Arnold downwards.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 30*th December* 1893.

We are surrounded here by everything which, if it were possible, would help me to put aside political cares, *all* my grandchildren, and all except one (Freda) of my children, with Waldegrave and the Bishop of Southwell too. And the Christmas weather has been delightful, with no drawbacks from ill-health at home or, to any serious extent, among our neighbours.

I have been occupying myself with making out and transcribing a *classified* catalogue of the library here, having already done the *alphabetical* catalogue. It has been a not uninteresting occupation; and it is now not far from finished.

Goldwin Smith spent three or four days here last week. I do not know whether you have any acquaintance with him; but you probably know that he is a very old friend of mine, of whose abilities and personal character I think, and have always thought, very highly. Did I ever tell you that he reminds me, more than any one else, of what I can imagine *Milton* to have been, so far as the tone of his mind (in which there is a certain severity) is concerned? In his political ideas he is, *au fond*, republican, but not enamoured of any modern republican constitutions, except it be that of the United States. In religious views I doubt his being a Churchman; he is certainly not too fond of the clergy or of church establishments, and he was quite out of sympathy with the Oxford Movement, its leaders, and its school. But positively religious (as Milton was, and I should think very much in Milton's way) he is. With these differences from my own ways of feeling and thinking there is much more, nevertheless, in common between us than might have been expected. On the English politics of the present time (Disestablishment probably excepted) there is no important difference between us, and on Economic and Socialistic questions he is a very sound and clear thinker. I recommend you to get and read his lately published book on the History of the United States, from the original English plantations to the end of the Civil War, which (*i.e.* the *Civil* War) it is convenient so to call, though he gives some striking (and to me new) reasons for *not* calling it so. The

book is in one, not very long, octavo volume; it assumes, as to matters of detail into which it does not enter, some previous knowledge on the reader's part; but it is decidedly vigorous and interesting, and (as it seems to me) singularly *fair*, presenting many persons and things in a striking, not to say original, point of view. I also recommend to you his *Essays on Questions of the Day* (recently collected into another octavo volume), which he has given me, but of which I have as yet only read the *first* essay, on Socialist Heresies in Economics, which I thought excellent when he published it three or four years ago.

Did I tell you of a conversation I had, when at Leeds, with Edward Talbot, about the attitude which Gladstone has of late years taken up towards the Nonconformists, and (with them) against the Church? Talbot traced it to the demonstrations made by the former, and the absence of similar demonstrations by the clergy, in support of his counsels against the Bulgarian "atrocities," in 1876. (You may easily imagine what I thought and said about this.) And I have now heard exactly the same thing on the authority of Lady Frederick Cavendish from my daughter Laura Ridding.

I have thought a good deal about your opinion (several times expressed) that the Unionists ought to have done whatever they could to get up an agitation in the country for an immediate dissolution, after the rejection of the Irish Bill by the House of Lords. But I continue to think that the result of such an attempt would not have been to alter the situation, with which we have now to deal, for the better, and that in one very important point we should have lost by it. As it is, we have had unequivocal proof of the (at least) contented acquiescence of the people in general in the fate of that Irish Bill, even though it met its fate in the House of Lords. *That* we might have lost, if the course you suggest had been taken. Both parties can play the game of agitation: if the one had set it on foot, the other would not lag behind—the promise of the Newcastle programme would have been then (as now) held out as a reason for not now dissolving—and party spirit, worked by Schnadhorst and Co., would have responded to the demand of the Government.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

The Benchers of Lincoln's Inn requested Lord Selborne to sit for his portrait to Mr. Watts, should Mr. Watts be willing to undertake it. This request from his old Inn pleased Lord Selborne; and the sittings during 1893-94, once started, were looked forward to with keen pleasure: the society of Mr. and Mrs. Watts was charming to him; and he repeatedly said that to him the beauty and value of Mr. Watts' creations was incalculably enhanced by the noble spirit which inspires and lives in all his work.

To VISCOUNT WOLMER, M.P.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *2nd March* 1894.

It seems to me that nothing could less justify Gladstone's declaration of war upon the House of Lords than their action upon the Local Government Bill. If a Second Chamber is of any use at all, one, *at least*, of its necessary and most ordinary uses must be (as it has always been), to make amendments in the details of Bills which it accepts in principle. The House of Lords on this occasion has yielded a great deal which it had good reason for thinking desirable; and the amendments last sent down by it to the Commons, and which were accepted with such a bad grace yesterday, were so manifestly within their legitimate province as to render the attempt to found a quarrel upon them preposterous; *both* being upon lines which in earlier stages of the Bill had recommended themselves—the one to the Government generally, and the other to the Minister in charge of the Bill—with this difference only, that the "Charity clause" is now made more elastic as to number than Mr. Fowler proposed to render it.

I did not myself vote for the line of 300 instead of 200, in the last (very narrow) division on that subject in the House of Lords, because it did not seem to me to be a point for the sake of which the contest should have been prolonged. But, being

now so settled, I have no hesitation in saying that I think 300 is the best line—better than either 500 or 200.

As to the Charity clause, my chief doubt is whether its practical operation will not more nearly coincide with that of Cobbs's clause than might be desirable. We have been told that the disposition recently of the Charity Commissioners has been towards giving elective trustees a majority when they bring them in. I doubt whether this is quite accurate, but there is no doubt that they have sometimes, perhaps not seldom, done so; and they are a body who stand very much in awe of the House of Commons, and are likely to be much influenced in their actions under this Bill by what has passed in that House.

If the Bill had come back to the House of Lords, with Lord Salisbury's amended clause rejected, I should myself have acquiesced in what I may call the *Belper-Camperdown* Amendment (what it was at first proposed to *me* to move), rather than imperil the Bill. But, while the difference as to the probable numbers of the new elective trustees is not likely to be practically great, the clause as it now stands seems to me sounder in principle, and in one respect a decided improvement, as getting rid of the restriction of the elective trustees to parochial electors.

I think the House of Lords has not come badly out of the whole business. If they had insisted upon nothing, they would have been open to the charge of being frightened at what they had done on the other Bills, and behaving in a cowardly way upon this Bill, which was prevailingly one on which they were capable of forming a sound judgment. And their enemies would have thrown this in their teeth, as was apparent from the tone of such of the Radical papers as I saw, after their giving way (as far as they did) when the Bill first came back from the House of Commons. If any one thinks that they have unnecessarily made Mr. Gladstone show his teeth against them, I cannot agree. We had proof enough, before he spoke last night, that the Radicals, on whom he depends, would do all in their power to bring the House of Lords into popular odium, and to destroy it if they could, whether it yielded more or less on this particular question; and, if we are to be attacked, we may meet the attack not only with a better conscience, but with a better

prospect of repelling it also, by doing our duty according to the best of our judgment, than by shrinking from it.

If Gladstone now retires it seems to me that Rosebery *cannot* succeed him, and that *Harcourt* must, assuming the party to remain in power. But *will* Gladstone go before the dissolution? I do not think they will let him, and I do not think he will resist their will.—Ever yours, SELBORNE.

To Lord Stanmore

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *4th March* 1894.

These changes come suddenly. I did not believe till the last moment either that Gladstone would really resign or that Rosebery would succeed him; but so it seems to be. That Gladstone should have willingly bequeathed his succession to Rosebery surprises me, for I thought (as you did) that he would willingly have left him out of his arrangements in 1892 if it had been politically possible; and that if there were just now differences in the Cabinet about Africa or the Navy Estimates (as was generally believed), Gladstone would have been on one side and Rosebery on the other. And while it still seems to me very doubtful whether Rosebery will be able to hold his own against Labouchere and his allies (even if Harcourt serves under him, as I expect him to do), I do *not* think it doubtful that, if Gladstone had recommended Harcourt to the Queen, the whole (so-called) Liberal party would have accepted him with more unanimity (for the time) than Rosebery. However, it is as it is; and, upon the whole, I am glad of it if the same party was to go on. I cannot pretend to say that I have any confidence in Rosebery as to *Home* politics, or feel at all sure that he may not go as far as Gladstone himself on all points, and on some (those connected with Trades Unions and Socialism) even further; but I have much more confidence in his steadiness and care for our national honour and interests abroad. Do you remember our once talking of the contingency of Gladstone leaving the scene, and my saying that (although sometimes tempted to desire it, from the pain of seeing him play the part he did in his old age) I repressed the thought, not knowing that he might not give place to something worse, and less restrained by any *arrière*

pensée towards a better frame of mind? It comes back to me now, and I am not without the apprehension that it may so turn out. The idea that Gladstone, though he has resigned under the pressure of physical infirmities, will even now take no rest, but will go about the country stumping against the House of Lords, had *not* occurred to me till —— suggested the possibility of it. I cannot say that it is not possible, for I have learnt to regard everything as possible with him; but I do not expect it. If his speech of last Thursday is taken by the party as a signal for a general and concerted agitation against the House of Lords, it is far from unlikely that he may be asked to speak at some meeting on that subject in London or the provinces, and may be induced to do so; but I shall be surprised if he throws himself more actively than this into the movement, supposing it to come.

My son, in a letter received this morning, ventures upon a forecast, which I think very likely to turn out true, viz. that we may expect under Rosebery an attempt to solve both the Home Rule and the Second Chamber question together by a *complete Federal scheme* of a new constitution for all parts of the United Kingdom—England and Scotland, as well as Ireland. We know already that Asquith was for such a scheme, and it is not unlikely that some other Ministers (*e.g.* Bryce) may agree with him. I will not commit myself to an opinion on it at present beyond this, that I think it would be much more defensible in *principle* than the Bill which we rejected in September, and that it might be recommended to some as removing difficulties *in the House of Commons*, which are not less serious than the need of a *modus vivendi* with the House of Lords.

I am not myself dissatisfied with the part which the House of Lords has acted on the Local Government Bill, taken as a whole. Perhaps I might have liked to have stood more firmly to our guns on one or two minor points (affecting charities and parish rooms) if I had foreseen that Gladstone would act as he did; but I did *not* foresee this, and I did not think it wise to insist on those points, which, after all, were not of cardinal importance, and on which I knew it was the wish of our friends in the House of Commons that we should not insist. It is quite absurd to suppose that by Lord Salisbury's two last amendments (both of them *real* amendments upon the merits, and both so regarded by

the Government in earlier stages of the Bill, or at all events by Mr. Fowler), an attack upon the House of Lords, which otherwise might have been avoided, has been provoked. The real motive for the attack was not in those amendments. Gladstone has sounded that same note before, in his speech at Edinburgh after the rejection of his Home Rule Bill, and the attack was sure to come.

I do not think it likely to be more formidable, because the House of Lords has exercised in a moderate and reasonable way its unquestionable constitutional right to amend such a Bill as the Local Government Bill, and has refused to place itself in the more ignoble position which you feared. On the contrary, I think the resistance of the Conservative feeling in the country (whether more or less powerful time will show) will be much more energetic and hearty, because we have shown that we are *not* prepared to yield everything to intimidation. And, as I have often said, if our enemies are strong enough to destroy us, it is far better to be destroyed for doing our duty than for not doing it. I thought it a duty to yield on some points, and did so. I would on the same principle have yielded the point between the figures 300 and 200 which Lord Salisbury carried (though I think 300 the better figure at which to draw the line—better than either 500 or 200), but I did *not* think it my duty to yield on the other points on which I ultimately voted with majorities, and I am glad that the House held its own on them.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 10*th March* 1894.

I have not myself thought it necessary to write to Gladstone.

With unabated feelings of personal goodwill and appreciation of those virtues which have been so strongly mixed up in his character with other qualities less admirable, I have too strong a sense of the inheritance of evil which he has left to his successors to make it possible to find satisfaction in formal communications in which silence must necessarily be preserved about public affairs.

He has, I think, consulted his own dignity and his future reputation in retiring voluntarily at this juncture. And no one, I am sure, will grudge him the satisfaction which he must feel at

Herbert's promotion, on his retirement, to a higher office and political rank. I felt sure that it would be so, and much prefer his being at the Board of Works to the Irish Office.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

To the Countess Waldegrave

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 10*th March* 1894.

. . . I have no doubt that this new Ministry will go on upon exactly the same lines as Gladstone's: the Newcastle programme to be swallowed whole; a Budget pressing heavily on landed property, already the most distressed and harassed of all interests; a dissolution, as early as Schnadhorst thinks the people ready to back the cry against the House of Lords; and after that (if it succeeds) Home Rule again—perhaps this time in the shape of a new Federal Constitution for all parts of the United Kingdom. From all which evils we may be delivered if it is God's will. But have we any right, as a nation, to reckon upon such a deliverance?

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 13*th March* 1894.

After all, I do not mean to come up to London on Thursday, but find it more convenient to go and return on Friday. Consequently I shall not be able to see you, as I intended. . . .

Lord Rosebery's speech at his party meeting shows very plainly that he will go all necessary lengths with his party on all subjects.—Ever your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 15*th March* 1894.

We were so glad to receive this morning your letter to Sophy from Florence. I cannot say that the rather sudden abdication of Gladstone, and Lord Rosebery's succession, with Sir W. Harcourt as his lieutenant, have tended to remove or mitigate any depression which I felt before as to the state and prospects of political affairs. It may, perhaps, turn out to be in some respects a gain that affairs have passed into the hands of those who are

not, like Gladstone, men of violent impulses and enthusiasms, but simple opportunists. If Foreign Policy and National Defence were all in all I could place more confidence in Lord Rosebery than in Gladstone; but in Domestic affairs (of which the gravity at this time can hardly be overstated) I do not trust him at all.

Things are dark: so much the more reason for putting our trust in God, and asking for more faith, both in His power and will to avert us from all the evils of which we are afraid (if it be for His glory and the good of mankind), and in the sufficiency of the supplies of strength and patience of which, if those evils are to come upon us, we shall stand so much in need, and which, we may be sure, He will not withhold from those who may humble themselves before Him in the day of their necessity.

When I think of my children and grandchildren, I cannot but wish that the future were less overcast with clouds. But those who are young are naturally more sanguine than the old, and it is well that it should be so. I am myself neither a pessimist nor an optimist; but I am not free from this, any more than from other infirmities of old age.

Willie is in Scotland again, helping Charles Balfour in his contest for Berwickshire—hardly likely, I should think, to win.—Ever yours (and Dos') most affectionate Father,

SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, *Easter Day* 1894.

Do not think I have forgotten your birthday because I did not write to you on it. I hope and pray that every year will be, to yourself and your dear husband, one of greater blessings. We have fallen upon anxious (it *may be*, on evil) times; though we know not what may be in God's counsels, who can always over-rule all things for good. But in such times there is more need than ever for faith, and courage, and wisdom, and "patient continuance in well-doing"; and I shall never cease to pray that all these good gifts may be given in ever-increasing abundance to you and George.

I was a little tired by the parliamentary business of the latter part of the late session; perhaps the more so because the course

to be followed in the Parish Councils Bill was not so clear to my own mind or apparently to the minds of other people, as on the other Bills which came before the House of Lords, and the practical results were less satisfactory. I cannot, however, conceive anything more unjust than the attacks upon the House of Lords on the pretext of their having done more in the way of amending that Bill than was consistent with the relations between the two Houses which ought to exist.

Whether we shall be losers or gainers by exchanging Mr. Gladstone for Lord Rosebery remains to be seen. To me, with respect to Home politics, Lord Rosebery is a "dark horse": not an enthusiast like Mr. Gladstone, certainly, and with a clearer sight, probably, of the meaning and tendency of what he says and does. —Your most affectionate Father,

SELBORNE.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (BENSON)

30 PORTLAND PLACE, 24th June 1894.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP—I think you know that I myself regard the *parochial* organisation as the really new and important object of the machinery to be now set on foot; and this field is altogether our own, with all things accessory to it, and not ground occupied, or, in my judgment, fit to be occupied, by the Church Defence Institution.

As to the other two objects, the "literature" and the "meetings," I incline strongly to the view that our Committee had better *not* seek to act independently of them if they are willing to act in concert with our Committee.

In these two departments of literature and meetings (whether conducted by them or us), it is impossible that some things should not be done (whoever does them) in a way open to some objections or criticisms. Perfection is not attainable.—Believe me, your Grace's faithful Servant,

SELBORNE.

TO HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (BENSON)

CHURCH HOUSE, 9th July 1894.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP—As Chairman of the House of Laymen of the Province of Canterbury, I am instructed to lay before

your Grace the following protest against the Bill which has been introduced into Parliament under the title of "A Bill to terminate the Establishment of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire, and to make provision in respect of the Temporalities thereof."

The House of Laymen protests against the said Bill, for the following (among other) reasons:—

1. Because it is thereby proposed to cut off the dioceses of Bangor, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and St. David's from their present organic unity with the Church of England, and to impose upon them, by Act of Parliament, a new form of ecclesiastical constitution.

2. Because it is further proposed to convert to secular uses the endowments of the Church in those dioceses, dedicated from ancient times by the piety of Churchmen to the service of God.

3. Because such an act of confiscation would inflict unmerited hardships, and impose heavy burdens, upon the Churchmen of Wales and Monmouthshire.

4. Because there is nothing to justify this threatened interference with the ecclesiastical constitution of those dioceses, and confiscation of their endowments, either in the past history or in the present circumstances of the Church in Wales and Monmouthshire; whether regarded in its relation to the rest of the Church of England, or apart from that relation.

5. Because the attack is really upon the whole Church of England, though for the present limited to Wales and Monmouthshire.

The House of Laymen trusts that this attack will be strenuously, and everywhere, resisted by Churchmen.—I have the honour to be, my Lord Archbishop, your Grace's obedient and humble Servant, SELBORNE, *Chairman.*

His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

To Lord Stanmore

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 31*st August* 1894.

I send you a copy of my speech of last month on the Education question in London, which the Church Education Defence Union has published.

Having thought it worth while to append (in a note) to p. 4

some extracts from Gladstone's late paper on "Heresy and Schism," it seemed to me that I ought to send him a copy, which I have done. I did so the rather because he sent a friendly message of remembrance to me, in one of his letters to you, which you let me see.

We have lately suffered what I might justly call a family loss, to ourselves as well as to my daughter-in-law, in the death of Miss Alderson, a good, kindly Christian soul if ever there was one.—Ever yours affectionately, SELBORNE.

This has been a week of glorious harvest weather with us; not too late, I believe, for the corn crops.

To ATHELSTANE RILEY, ESQ.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 22*nd October* 1894.

My son tells me that you would like to know what I thought of your speech on the Elementary Education question, at the Exeter Church Congress.

I thought it a very powerful speech, extremely to the purpose, and excellent in every way. Whatever may be the result of the impending contest, you have done work for which not Churchmen only, but good Christians of every name who receive the Catholic Creeds, ought to be grateful; whether agreeing, or not, in every step which has been taken.—Believe me, yours faithfully, SELBORNE.

To LORD STANMORE

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 8*th November* 1894.

I am entirely of your mind as to the propriety and necessity of our moving now as actively (of course, also, as wisely and as charitably) as we can upon the lines agreed upon by the Archbishop's Committee. If not *now*, what time can ever come when we *shall* move with an equal chance of doing something effectual to resist the attack, no longer threatened only, but actually made, and announced as the leading measure of the Government in the coming session?

The next Parliament (which may, and probably will, be elected next year) will doubtless *decide* this, as well as some other

questions of vital importance to the future of the country. If the Church has any real political strength, it must be brought to bear, as fully as possible, upon that election.

We must make up our minds to much cold water, even from some unexpected quarters; but this cannot alter our duty. To put such considerations as the parties and party names of the moment into the scale against Church Defence by all honest means which are available to us, seems to me mere fatuity in any who really care for the Church. But I suppose those who do so must see the character and the tendencies at the present time of the parties with whom they desire to keep on terms, in a different light from that which I do. Let us by all means get help, *if we can*, from those who differ from us on the subject; but we must be content to go without the help of those whose sensitiveness about party associations and party names is so great as to paralyse their efforts on behalf of the greatest of our national institutions. Of individuals, such as Mr. Gore and others whom you name, I say nothing, except that they must follow their own ideas of what is wise and right, and we must follow ours. If the clergy are afraid of moving anywhere, or for any reason indisposed to do so, we must deal with those places as well as we can. Everywhere, while we hope to have the clergy as far as possible on our side, we should, I think, conduct our operations as much as possible through the laity, and for the laity's sake, without throwing upon the clergy the burden and heat of the day. If it be God's will that we fail, so it must be; but to fail after doing our best is one thing, to fail through sloth, or timidity, or fear of the lions in our path is another thing.

Of course our opponents will also bestir themselves; they *have been bestirring themselves long*, and have, so far, reaped the fruits of it. We must measure our strength with them now, or let them have things their own way.—Ever yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 18*th November* 1894.

I must thank you for your paper on "Christian Socialism," which I could have wished longer, and perhaps more pointed in

the application of its principle to some of the fallacies which pass under that name, and which are all the more dangerous from the favour which they find, sometimes from clergymen of maturer age (such as Scott Holland) as well as younger men. To deduce from the warnings of Scripture against the dangers and temptations of riches, and its sympathy with and tenderness for the poor, the idea that there can be some beneficent revolution of society which will so "level down" the one class and "level up" the other as practically to abolish the distinction, seems to me a wild dream, and one, the attempt to realise which would degrade and (as you rightly observe with reference to the Norwich Trade Union Resolutions) *enslave*, instead of elevating men. You deal with this sort of enthusiasts perhaps too tenderly, though it is of course right to recognise the good intention, which in some of them goes hand in hand with folly and a Gospel of discontent.

I have not been accustomed to think that in that general doctrine as to obedience to human Governments, to which you refer at p. 13, the Apostles had in view the special excellence of the Roman Law, so much as the natural necessity which makes all Governments, as such, maintainers of general social order against debased individualism and ordinary crime. The caprice and tyranny of the Roman Government under Nero were almost as great as those of any earthly Government could be; and they must have been felt in the provinces as well as at Rome, under such rulers as the Herods and Pilate, Felix, etc. But, nevertheless, even *their* power had in it the divine *office*, however unworthily represented on too many occasions.—Believe me, my dear Duke, yours ever, SELBORNE.

INVERARAY, ARGYLLSHIRE, 22*nd December* 1896.

MY DEAR LADY SOPHIA—I send you this letter, which is, I think, of real public interest.

As the last sentences seem to be a criticism on my paper slightly adverse to my view *on one point*, I think it right to add that I am satisfied that on that point your Father's amended view *is the true one*—that is, that the Apostles' principle was broader than any mere favour for Roman Law in particular: the principle, namely, that all *de facto* Governments as such (certainly all legitimate Governments) are clothed with a divine authority—at

least up to a certain point; for we know that St. Paul did *not* recognise that authority when it prohibited the preaching of the Gospel.—Yours very sincerely, ARGYLL.

P.S.—I value this letter because I am generally supposed to be too aggressive to opponents. Here your Father says I have been too gentle! A.

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 25*th November* 1894.

I am thankful that we were not *beaten* at the poll on Thursday, though I should have been glad if we had obtained a better majority. However, there were many things against us, and the battle could hardly have been fought under greater disadvantages. That you should have been so active and zealous in the good cause is a great joy to me. Give yourself some rest now, and do not let the reaction from the late strain do you harm, any more than (as I trust) the strain itself has done.—Ever, dearest child, your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To Lady Laura Ridding

Blackmoor, Petersfield, 28*th November* 1894.

Your dear birthday letter was the first which I received; and I thank you and George for it, and for all your love. I can assure you that *I* missed my visit to Thurgarton, which I have always enjoyed as much as you could do; but it was impossible at the time when it was thought of, and I could not manage it later. Indeed, I had as much moving about this year as was good for me, though I do not now feel the worse for it. I suppose every additional year makes one really weaker; but I cannot say that I have been sensible of any substantial loss of strength this year (unless it be, perhaps, strength of voice) as compared with last.

Among the many blessings which I have to thank God for, none is greater than that He should have put it into the hearts of all my children to do active work for His service. Both Willie and Sophy are working energetically in the Church Defence cause; and Freda did the same (so as almost to make me afraid that it might be too much for her) in the late School

Board contest in London. The result of that contest, although not all that could have been wished, is far better than I at one time expected. We had many things against us; and to obtain a majority at all, under such circumstances, is no small matter. It will at least (I should hope) have the effect of *arresting the progress* of the Anti-Christian propagation, which was certainly brought to light by the painful discussions of the past year.

I am sorry that the Parish Councils Act should have given occasion to indications of unfriendly feeling between class and class, as it seems to have done in some places, especially in the East of England. It should be the object of all wise men, of every class, to do their best to make it work for good. Here (and I think in this part of the country generally) that feeling prevails.—Your ever most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

TO THE ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD (PALMER)

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 28*th November* 1894.

Thanks for your birthday letter. I am thankful, for the sake of those whom I love and who love me, for the years which have been given, and if yet more are to come, I shall for the same reason be thankful for them also. But our heavenly Father knows best.

The paper about *La Martinière* at Calcutta is most interesting, and I should be glad if it were widely read, as it may be of practical importance to have such an example of what is possible (without any compromise of principles, or any attempt to formulate an eclectic State system of religious teaching) to refer to.

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 11*th December* 1894.

Sophy says you have asked how our parochial elections have gone off. In Hampshire generally, very satisfactorily, as far as I can judge, though in about *half* the parishes, polls have been demanded. But the candidates preferred, generally, seem to be fairly representative of all classes, with a decided preponderance, as far as I can ascertain, of men who are direct ratepayers, and who would feel the weight of foolish or extravagant expenditure. In most places the clergy, and in many the chief landowners, have not sought to be elected on the councils; not, however, for

want of interest or willingness to take their natural places, but because they have been well satisfied with the prospect of such a choice as they could place confidence in. And that there has been no general want of good feeling between parishioners and clergy, is plain from the fact, that in a very large number of our parishes the parson has been unanimously voted into the chair.

Selborne is divided into two wards. In the upper, or Selborne, ward, a poll was demanded. Here, the election took place on Tuesday; one elector, who asked for a poll, having thought better of it, and withdrawn his demand. We have five councillors; Willie, who is one of them, received more votes than any one else, and the announcement of his number was received with general applause. I was in the chair and everything passed off quite orderly and amicably. I have no doubt that the election of District Councillors will also pass in a satisfactory manner. Unless other parts of the country are very different from this (which I think is not the case) the hopes of those who wished to set classes by the ears in these elections will be disappointed.

Sophy has received one of those letters trying to get up a sort of testimonial to our friend ——, which are *abominations* to me. As I should most sincerely deprecate such a thing in my own case, I hope it is no sign of want of friendship if I dislike it in his. It is, of course, a quite different thing when one or more friends spontaneously take any occasion to make a present to a friend. But this is a fashion, a sort of *epidemic disease*, against which I rebel in my soul. What is your mind about it?

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 29*th December* 1894.

I must not let Christmas week pass by without thanking you heartily for your letter, and returning from my heart to you and all yours (and also sending to dear Emily) my best wishes for Christmas blessings upon you, and for much happiness and God's help during the coming year.

Our large party is increased to-day, by the arrival of Lolly and her dear husband; both well, and in good spirits.

Maud has given me the *Memoir of Dean Church* as a Christmas present, and I have nearly finished it. I think it very well

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

I thank you very much for your little book on Socialism (which I read through without stopping as soon as it came to hand), and still more for your affectionate words which I most heartily reciprocate. Among many and dangerous delusions which are afloat at the present time, I look upon the Socialistic idea as perhaps the most serious—the more dangerous because of the plausible way in which it presents itself to the minds of some benevolent and well-meaning persons as recommended from a Christian or philanthropic point of view. In the practical and political forms, which it has hitherto assumed, I think it is Anti-Christian and the reverse of philanthropic—tending in politics to nothing short of universal slavery; in morals to class hatred;

and in more national things, to national decline and impoverishment.

These may be an old man's ideas, but, nevertheless, they may be true. I need not add that in your own general conclusions I heartily agree, though you, perhaps, may treat what calls itself (or is called) Christian Socialism rather more gently than I should! Excuse my vile pen, and believe me ever most truly yours, SELBORNE.

Lord Selborne had intended settling in London in the end of February to take part in Appeals, but a slight attack of influenza early in the month made this impossible; and repeated relapses, due to his refusal to cease working, at last forced him to rest.

TO LORD STANMORE

BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD, 12*th March* 1895.

We are here; I am not much more vigorous than when you were with us.

. . . . . .

I have finished Sir Bartle Frere's Life, but in spite of all that his biographer has said, I do not think my former impression, as to the errors of his administration at the Cape, is materially changed. I doubt whether he realised, as much as he ought to have done, the enormous difference between such a colony, with such dependencies and nothing at its back except the Home Government (with the uncertain and fluctuating conditions under which our Parliamentary Government at home is carried on), and an Indian Presidency, with its relations to protected States and to frontier tribes. I think it is evident that he never correctly understood the Transvaal question; and although it is true that Lord Carnarvon had carried the annexation policy so far, before he went out, as to justify the *formal* argument that Frere found the thing *done*, and had only to make the best he could of it, this does not satisfy one, in the case of a man of his ability, character, and experience.

It seems to me to have been *indispensable* both in policy and in good faith that we should have the consent of a Transvaal Volksraad to annexation. Frere was *not* too late to have acted on that view, and he knew that he was not; but he deliberately rejected it—no doubt following Shepstone's opinion. But he ought not on such a point to have trusted so much to Shepstone, especially with the knowledge he had that the Boer leaders were playing fast and loose. *If* he was at all rightly informed as to the total exhaustion of the Transvaal finances, and their inability to defend themselves against Zulu invasion at that time, and as to the large numbers of the people favourable to annexation, the result *must* have been an unequivocal consent to annexation by the competent authority with the advantage of a simultaneous or very early settlement (by the same authority) of the *time* of annexation. If (as I think more probable) he was misinformed, the worst that could have happened would have been, that the immediate danger from the Zulus would have been to the Transvaal and not to Natal.

I also think he was *certainly wrong* in not allowing time for communication with the Colonial Office before sending an ultimatum on that notice (equivalent to a conditional declaration of war) to Cetywayo.—Ever yours affectionately,

SELBORNE.

To Lady Wilfreda Biddulph

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, 20*th March* 1895.

We came down here on Monday for change of air, and to see your Aunt Emily, who is (for her) looking very well and in good spirits; so our journey will not have been in vain, even if I am not the stronger for it. I pick up slowly, but with no drawbacks.

Maud and Willie and all their children were with us last week—the boys very jolly, and Top promoted to knickerbockers, and looking quite a different child.

So much for family news.

You ask me to write about politics; but there is a lull in politics just now, and I do not see very far into the future. The late elections to the London County Council were of

immense importance as showing a strong reaction against "Municipal Socialism," and they confirm, as far as they go, the hope that the General Election may turn out as we wish. But nobody is better able now, than when you left England, to say when that will be. The subject which at this moment occupies men's minds most is the Speaker's retirement. Of the three men who were generally thought of for the Chair, two seem to be set aside by the Government (Campbell-Bannerman and Sir M. Ridley), and the third (Courtney) by the opposition of some on both sides of the House. We now hear that it is to be (in spite of the reduction of the already small enough Ministerial majority) some partisan of the Government, and one who may possibly not be re-elected in the next Parliament. Mr. Gully, a barrister, seems the most likely man. By taking him from their own ranks they will lose two votes, in addition to the third, which they will also lose, if the Speaker's seat is retained by a Unionist.

I suppose the Welsh Church Bill will soon be set down for second reading, and it will, no doubt, pass that stage by more than the real Government majority, as Chamberlain and some other Liberal Unionists will vote for it, and perhaps some few weak-kneed Conservatives. After it has passed that stage it will have to give place (in the Committee stage) to the Irish Land Bill, which is likely to take a great deal of time, unless the Government try practically to *force it* rapidly through Committee by closure, and have a Speaker in the Chair who will help them to do so.

I expect that both their Bills (and practically nothing else) will be sent up to the House of Lords—the Church Bill, to be rejected on the second reading; the Land Bill, to be altered, in some important points, in Committee.

All here join in love to you and dear Dos.—Ever yours most affectionately, SELBORNE.

To the Countess Waldegrave

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, 24*th March* 1895.

I must send one line of thanksgiving and blessing for your birthday to-morrow. You have been always a blessing to me, and I pray that God may bless you and all yours in all things

needful for this life, and much more in the better life which is to come. I hope the accounts of your darling boy continue to be all that you can wish.

Thank Waldegrave for his note, received yesterday, and tell him that I shall be very glad to meet Robert Cecil on Monday.

Give May and Madge my best love.—Ever, darling child, your most affectionate Father, SELBORNE.

To Emily Lady Tennyson

1st April 1895.

I cannot easily say how much I value your kind letter. If you had not accepted my suggestions, I should have well known that your judgment was at least as likely to be right as mine. But I made them because I felt sure that you should wish to have my thoughts, whatever they might be worth.

I am sincerely thankful, as a Churchman, for your help in this matter[1]—the greatest, I think, of the many great questions which are stirred at this time, and touching what, in my view, is the *most* beneficent of all our institutions.

Your kindness to my daughter, on her visit to the Isle of Wight, was appreciated both by her and by myself; and I was glad to hear that you were not weaker or more suffering than usual.

Give Hallam my love, and say that I hope it may please God to let me live long enough to read his book.—Believe me ever, dear Lady Tennyson, affectionately yours, SELBORNE.

To Wilfrid Ward, Esq.

Blackmoor, *10th April* 1895.

I have before me your letter accompanying the kind and most acceptable present of the second part of your father's Life. I think I thanked you for it at the time, and said that when I had read it I would write again.

Various accidents made me defer reading it; but I have lately

[1] Lady Tennyson had written an Appeal against Disestablishment, entitled: "Do Justice and Love Righteousness." It was approved by Archbishop Benson, and published by the Church Committee for Church Defence and Church Instruction.

done so with the greatest interest, to which there has been no exception in any part of it.

If you will permit me to say so (and flattery is not my line) your part, as a biographer, has been excellently done; not the less so because you allow it to be perceived that you do not, on all points, follow your father's opinions.

One thing which you have clearly brought out must be gratifying to all who had a regard both for your father and for Cardinal Newman, viz. that the difference between them was much less than was generally supposed.

We have lost Lord Emly since you wrote; he also was a schoolfellow of mine at Winchester. What is seen of him in your book tends to raise him in my opinion intellectually. I always respected and liked him.—With renewed thanks, believe me, very sincerely yours, SELBORNE.

Oxford was the only change for which my Father was willing; for, apart from the happiness of being with his brother the Archdeacon at Christ Church and his invalid sister, he was passionately attached to Oxford itself.[1] The last day there he spent some hours in the Radcliffe and Bodleian making researches for a German correspondent.

Then we went home.

The spring came with April, not in her proverbial changefulness, but with unbroken sunshine awaking the flowers and trees into a fulness of beauty which made the Easter of 1895 one never to be forgotten. My Father's strength returned; the depression and weakness left by the influenza disappeared, and on the 7th of April and every succeeding day until the

[1] Lord Selborne was the guest of Sir William Anson at All Souls, during the visit of the British Association to Oxford in August 1894. He was full of admiration and appreciation of the Chancellor's Opening Address.

21st, he said, more than once during the day, "What glorious weather! I feel as if I had taken a new lease of life." And once he added, "After all I think I may do more work for some years, there is much I should wish to do if it be God's will"; and another day he said, "Now I shall be fit for Appeals, and for such part as it may be advisable for me to take in the House; and in particular in regard to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in Wales."

Never had he enjoyed the garden and trees more, nor the views as we drove, day after day, through our beautiful country. From morning to night, whether at work in his study, or in the company of his Wordsworth, Horace, and other books, there was the same freshness and vigour of enjoyment; delight and thankfulness in renewed health. He was specially occupied in preparing for the coming debates over the Disestablishment and Disendowment Bill; and when resting he persevered with a remarkably dull novel which he wished he had never begun, but which, having begun, he characteristically and, according to his invariable habit, insisted on reading to the end. He said that, however dull a novel might be, the *personal* feature in it took hold of him, and he could not turn his back on the characters until they were out of the book. A clever novel he would devour; and in that very Easter week he took up to his room at night *Anna Karenina* and read until the candles had guttered into their sockets, and when he awoke the next morning he returned to it to find out how it ended. (I remember once, when we were abroad,

finding him lost to time in *La Guerre et la Paix*, reading it by the dying candles and sunrise light.)

His happiness in those days was completed by the company of his grandchildren, and in the evenings he returned to his whist. The last time he played he was so successful that, with counters for stakes, he insisted on another rubber though past the canonical hour of eleven. That same day, 20th April, he had sorted and arranged his papers and drawers, saying, "I have done this to-day to please you, instead of leaving it to the last night before going to London. I am never content until I have done it, though, like Sir Walter Scott, I shall forget to-morrow into which packet or pigeon-hole I have sorted my papers; but for to-day everything is in order." This done he strolled out into the garden bareheaded in his old way as he had not dared to do since the influenza, and when pursued with reproaches and a coat and hat he indignantly said, "You always forget I am a Winchester man and never take cold from want of a hat." Then he led me to a nest he had found which he thought would interest one of the grandsons; and as we went in he said, "This weather is glorious! It is delightful to be well again, and to have such a spring before returning to London and work."

But in the east wind and hot sun he took the chill which was more than his impaired strength could resist. For a week he battled with a feverish attack, and during those days his usual occupations and keen interest went on. I remember how he

clapped his hands and shouted for delight over Lord Valentia's victory at Oxford, and then eagerly discussed the political prospects of the summer. The fever abated, yet he did not rally, and he was reluctantly obliged to yield and remain in bed. As the days went on the heart began to fail, and on 4th May, at evening time, soon after seven o'clock the change came.

Very suddenly from life to death and death to life, with no farewells, no difficulty—with undimmed eye and clear and vigorous brain, he left the work of this world to find in a new Experience the answer to his daily prayer, to the words on his lips not an hour before he died, "Lord, show me what Thou wouldest have me do, and help me to do it faithfully and well."

Surely the prayer of his father was answered, and the day of his death was indeed a day of hope and peace to those around him.[1]

To live with him was to know the nobility and happiness of work. Work done to the uttermost, with arduous, fervent devotion, to the best of his ability. Work continued for love of his God, his Queen, and his country when nothing was to be gained as men count gain—when, after a life in which for many years his average hours of work had been eighteen, and from 1872 to 1885 twelve, with his freshness and keenness of interest he would have liked more time for intellectual enjoyment, for out-

[1] See *Memorials*, Part I. vol. i. pp. 177, 178.

door pleasures. To the end his work was a sacrifice. Doubtless he would not have been happy otherwise, yet none could see him always somewhat pressed, nearly always tired, and not be struck by the fact that it was owing largely to his ungrudging service to others in addition to public work. He would patiently unravel the confused story of some labourer, perhaps from a distant village, advise kindly but very honestly an aspiring poet, or encourage a despondent clerk or briefless barrister as if he were not surrounded by papers, letters, Bills, and Judgments waiting to be tackled.

The mass of correspondence which has been kindly offered for use, or only lent to show causes of gratitude, has been a revelation to those who thought they knew what Lord Selborne's service of God in man was.

Besides the more or less professional and political letters there are patient and sympathetic criticisms of MS.; lists of books for study (in many cases the books also were given); years of correspondence in the effort to keep in touch with souls struggling with evil or sinking in sin. Letters as to difficulties of belief; help in University education (he gave the education in some cases entirely—in two instances to sons of artisans—others he only helped). Letters and help as to colonising, missionary and social work. Advice to people he had never known who wrote to consult him as to their sons' careers. Letters to servants who had lived with him—to clerks who had worked for him—remembering them in trouble and

[illegible] The number of the clergy who turned to him for advice and help was extraordinary, clergy of all parties and of every degree up to the Archbishop of Canterbury whom he [illegible] to serve. He was the unpaid lawyer of the poor and again and again spent hours of precious time on their behalf. It happened three times in the last two years that he was addressed as "Earl Selborne and Sons," one of which clients began by stating he could not pay, "but troubled the firm, knowing the Earl was honest for a lawyer." This delighted "the firm."

He considered his services the right of the ignorant and helpless as of the more educated. Whether in politics, business, literature, religion, it mattered not—if his help was asked the claim was clear and help was given generously, scrupulously; and it was the combination of these unceasing calls on his time, judgment, patience, which almost overbore him. All that he had and had earned and was belonged to his Master, and as a matter of course therefore to his fellow-men. In him there had been no narrowing, or stiffening, or deadening of human or intellectual interest. On the contrary, his extraordinary sympathy in things great and small, his power of enjoyment of what was beautiful, amusing or ridiculous, combined with his stores of scholarlore and knowledge, and his strong, clear judgment, made him never seem old to those who knew him and lived with him in the enjoyment of friendship and love in the most perfect degree that could be imagined or desired. His reverence for things

divine and his dislike of what is coarse no doubt limited or raised his sense of humour, and to him evil was too real not to be abhorred. But for the individual his sympathy was infinite; he believed the best of every one, and was hopeful even for the worst, and did all in his power to encourage and restore self-respect. For several months in 1881, when in office and heavily pressed with judicial and political work, he walked early every morning to see a man he was trying to help in battling with evil, and whenever possible he also went after returning from the House. What this cost him only my Mother knew.

To strangers he seemed reserved; he was often absorbed and absent; but all who saw him in his home knew his sympathy, his consideration for others, his exquisite courtesy to all—his servants, little children, the poor. Strength and love seemed to pervade him. To the end his passion for right and indignation with wrong were keen, controlled and directed by truth and justice; while his hopefulness and patience, born of faith, increased instead of suffering loss through the chances and changes which time brought. In him the complete self-surrender to the love and service of God which had been attained through much temptation and struggle in earlier years had become his natural atmosphere, the air he breathed, the mind he lived in; so that it seemed, what indeed it was, perfect freedom. And with him the measurement of men

and things was, therefore, of the divine standard; and while he thought nothing of himself, while he was absolutely humble before God, he was also in thought as well as act before his fellow-men. His entire singleness and simplicity always impressed Lord Tennyson; and one day at Aldworth, when reading "The Ode to the Duke of Wellington," to please a friend of ours[1] he stopped after reading the lines—

> And, as the greatest only are,
> In his simplicity sublime,

and said to us in a lowered voice, pointing to my Father, "To that man only in the present time do these lines apply."

Perhaps the secret of his influence lay in absolute un-selfseeking, in entire truthfulness, the directness and simplicity of a little child; in his tenderness and humility as regarded others, in sternness as regarded himself; in an inspiring sense of duty which pervaded his society, in his matter-of-course relationship with his God.

[1] Mrs. Fitzgerald of Shalstone. Lord Tennyson had been speaking of politics and public men before reading this Ode, and no doubt this was in his mind when he made the above remark.

IN MEMORIAM

IN MEMORIAM

THE funeral of Lord Selborne [wrote Archbishop Benson[1]] was a scene worthy of the touches of a Macaulay or a Walter Scott. The sunlight of the most brilliant day of the year lay on the masses of oak and pine, and on the lines of Irish yews with which he had himself covered the waste round a modern but most "old English" home, and round the stately church which he built before he laid a stone of his house. The beautiful rectory and schools are his gift, and the one record of all is in the church —namely, that "it was built by a parishioner." The broad light kindled, and the east wind tempered, the tracts of purple heather and the meres and bosses of fir-woods which make the park of Wolmer, while the black line of the many mourners and the white lines of the singers and clergy streamed from different directions with the mass of villagers and visitors who were unable to find space in the church.

As the body lay covered with flowers before the altar, the service began with one of the lowliest and most self-effacing hymns in our language, a hymn on Psalm xxxvi., which gradually rises into a strain of son-like confidence in God's mercy and kindness :—

> Lord, when my soul her secrets doth reveal,
> All self-condemned, before Thy throne I kneel,
> And own my thoughts unclean, my words untrue,
> Deeds nothing worth, eyes blind and flattering too.
>
> Oh ! from this death who shall deliver me ?
> Oh ! from this torment whither can I flee !
> No virtue have I left, no strength within,
> Corrupt at heart enslaved and bound in sin.
>
> But Lord, Thy mercy to the heavens ascends ;
> Thy faithfulness beyond the clouds extends ;
> Like the strong mountains stands Thy righteousness ;
> Deep are Thy judgments as the vast abyss.

[1] The *Guardian*, 15th May 1895.

Thou, excellent in mercy, savest still
Men and mute creatures with a Father's will;
Under Thy gracious shadow, good and just,
The children of mankind shall put their trust.

They from Thy house of plenty shall be fed,
And drink joy's river from the Fountain-Head;
For Life's eternal well-spring is with Thee;
And in Thy Light, light only shall we see.

O Lord! to the true-hearted men of love
Still may Thy loving-kindness constant prove!
And save Thy servant from the foot of pride;
While Thy foes fall around, be Thou my guide!"

It was written thirty years ago by Roundell Palmer. The service, rendered by the gentle, unfaltering voice of the Bishop of Winchester,[1] ended with the singing of the *Te Deum* by the vast assembly of poor and rich standing in large circles round the grave among the trees and below the beautiful east window. Few tears were shed, although from the noblest to the humblest, from the representative of the Throne and the chief representatives of the Church, the State, the county, to the poorest cottager of the village, there was not one who did not feel that the Church had lost her leading layman, the State "a prince and a great man," England a typical Englishman, and themselves a friend. But his entering into rest had been, like his whole keen and busy life, with faith, and therefore his "laying i' the earth" was realised by all, and by none more than the children and grandchildren who loved him passionately, as an hour of conquering hope. A finished scholar; a consummate student and master of the laws; a swift, an eagle-eyed discerner of the critical fact, or thought, or argument; a truth-seeker in highest things, never content with language till it was truthful in minutest things; an advocate and judge of majestic honesty; a politician of spotless honour; a Christian on scientific grounds of evidence and on inmost grounds of faith; an English Churchman of historic, logical, fervent conviction, absolutely satisfied that the position was impregnable; he knew what he believed, and what he knew he lived and looked. The motto over the hall chimney-piece is, "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord." It

[1] Bishop Thorold.

exactly expressed him. His reverence for law was magnetic. His religion was communion with Christ.

By a Bishop who knew Him[1]

It would be impossible to estimate the loss which the Church has sustained in the death of Lord Selborne. No one at this moment could take his place or do what he has been doing, and, if he had lived, would have continued to do. His position, like his character, was unique. In the defence of the Church he had weight and influence which no one could approach. His mastery of the subject made him unanswerable in the controversy. His strong and deep convictions immeasurably strengthened and deepened the convictions of those who fought at his side. His devotion to the cause gave him a power of unflagging perseverance, which never felt or acknowledged a check. His learning and his power of handling it; his great abilities, his successful career, his high reputation, his remarkable readiness in debate, his invariable consistency in maintaining the highest principles of action, his conspicuous impartiality in dealing with opponents, presented a combination in which very few could come near him. But he was all this to the public at large. To those who saw him more closely, all this was but little in comparison with the inner nature of the man himself. Those who knew him well could not in their estimate of his goodness and greatness dwell on all this as if this were in their eyes the most excellent thing in his character. They turn instinctively to what rose immeasurably higher, the loftiness of the ideal to which he was ever matching his conduct, whether in politics or in the ordinary intercourse of life, or in his own home. He lived by so high a rule, and followed the precepts of the religion in which he believed with so unswerving a consistency, that he invariably presented to view the very model of a Christian. There was no sacrifice that he would not make to be true to the highest standard of Christian duty, and this appeared more than once in his public life. But men will sometimes make great sacrifices who cannot bring themselves to make self-

[1] Bishop of London (Temple), *Guardian*, 15th May 1895.

sacrifice to duty the rule in all things, great and small alike. And this is what Lord Selborne was ever doing in the eyes of those who had the means of observing him closely. In ordinary conversation, in the routine of daily life, in the transaction of common business, he was the same as in the handling of public affairs. There was large generosity; there was warm sympathy with sorrow, or distress, or perplexity; there was singular kindness of speech and manner; there was genuine humility; there was quiet dislike of all ostentation; there were the qualities which endear a man to his family, and win the confidence of friends; but these were not in him as in so many men characteristics that might be taken separately for what each was worth, but seemed to be only the varied fruits that came from the deep religious spirit that animated his whole life, and appeared never to be absent for a moment from his heart. His whole life was a quiet, unvarying obedience to the precept of his Master, "Abide in Me, and I in you."

I have been requested, and I cannot refuse, to write a few lines[1] "In Memoriam" of one whose departure is a national loss, not so much on account of his public as of his personal qualities. Great as his public services were, they were great because he himself was so great. He conquered two worlds. By the mere force of character, by singleness of purpose, by the gifts which genius gives he conquered one world to the utmost limit that its favour could bestow; but he did much more than this. His nature was not a lethargic or ignorant one. It was not that he did not know what life was; that he did not recognise the beauty and the attraction and the golden promises which life holds forth to the gifted and the happy. It was no ignorance of life, it was no want of noble ambition that made him a religious man. It was no stupid insensibility to the glorious triumphs of public life that made the dominant note of his life something more than all these. If any man knew life, and enjoyed it, in all its pure and perfect forms, he was that man; and indeed his knowledge extended further. He had been forced by his calling and his position to look into the depths of evil, and to recognise the

[1] In the *Guardian*, 15th May 1895.

terrible power of sin. It has been said that the consciousness of sin, of its nature and of its fruits, is the beginning of the higher life. His knowledge of human nature, his scholarship, his familiarity with classic pagan life, gave to his vision of the world around him a reality quite apart from the stilted platitudes of the mere moralist or theologian. I can myself recall instances of delicacy of insight into the resemblances and contrasts of Christian and pagan poets, which I fancy few who have not heard him could easily realise. It was, as I have said, life in all its forms that spoke to him and to which he responded, and of which his knowledge and his intellect made him master, and drew out his sympathy to everything that has life, or claim on life. Nature, which he studied as an expert; flowers, animals, and trees, little children, everything that is beautiful in life; believing always and hoping for the best in everybody and everything, severe only to himself, he lived, it may be said, constantly in the palace of the great King. It might not have been wondered at had he stopped here, and even yet there is more beyond. He was passionately devoted to the Queen, and to his country. He held in his hands the power of serving his Queen and his country in the highest places of the realm. He was nobly ambitious. Surely no man ever had the world more completely at his feet; but there was another world to conquer, and this he also won. He resigned, not without inward conflict, the most brilliant opportunities of power and of place, that he might keep conscience clear and pure. The world that *seems* is beneath his feet, but a divine hunger leads him to something which is not *seeming*—in Sacrament, and in private devotion, life is realised as divine. He conquered two worlds, the life that now is and the life that is above. Lord Rosebery's sympathetic testimony to the truth of the Marquis of Salisbury's striking words was a recognition of this undoubted fact.

The Lord of his life was with him to the end; in full spirits, in the old love of work, in keenness of sympathy with all who needed help and counsel, in kindly delight in the pleasures of others, he walked to the last, side by side, with the Guide of his youth and of his life, his Master and his Friend.

Writing as I do on the impulse of the moment, and with not a moment to spare, I cannot forbear saying something of the

charm of his nature, of his perfect courtesy, of the old-world polish of his address. Into the incidents of his life it is not necessary for me to enter, but there is one influence which cannot be omitted, the ministry which entered into his family life, which sustained and befriended, which consoled in hours of depression and of toil, which seconded and assisted in social and intellectual life, the ministry, I had almost written of angels, but I content myself with writing the ministry of women.

J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE.

LANSDOWNE, EDGBASTON,
10th May 1895.

The Times, WEDNESDAY, *8th May* 1895.

THE LATE LORD SELBORNE

The LORD CHANCELLOR (HERSCHELL).—I am sure I shall be acting in accordance with the wishes of your lordships if I give expression to the sense of the loss which this House has sustained owing to the death of Lord Selborne. Just ten years ago, when an illustrious predecessor of his on the woolsack died, the late Lord Cairns, Lord Selborne, who was prevented from being present by severe domestic affliction, gave expression to his wish to have offered his testimony to the remarkable powers and great worth of his illustrious predecessor, and to the loss which this House and the country had sustained. My lords, I am sure we all feel that we have lost another illustrious lawyer who might worthily rank with the one to whom I have just alluded. He was a master of equity jurisprudence, but although having the completest mastery of the technicalities of the law, he was no mere technical lawyer. He had a remarkable grasp of legal principles, and a capacity of applying them with the utmost intelligence and perspicacity. His industry was indefatigable; he spared himself no pains to ever give of his best. He used his utmost endeavours to arrive at a right conclusion, and his judgments are as remarkable for their thoroughness and solidity as for the clearness of their expression. But it is not only as a distinguished advocate and judge that he will be remembered. He took a foremost part in the changes that were made now some twenty years ago,

and which led to the system of judicature and administration of the law which now prevails in our Courts. He was one of the most active in bringing about what he conceived to be of great public value, the concentration in one building of the various Courts of Justice. My lords, I have spoken of what he was as a lawyer and a judge. I need not remind your lordships that he was much more than this. The power and the ability with which he took part in the discussions of every question in your lordships' House must be fresh in your memory. The echoes of the speeches which he has made not long since still linger on these walls; and even those against whom his arguments were directed could not fail to bear testimony to their admiration of the force and power of those arguments, and to their appreciation of the fact that these sterling abilities were neither dimmed nor diminished by age or by growing infirmity. My lords, I do not think any of us can forget the impression which he made of earnestness and sincerity whenever he addressed your lordships' House. This is not the time or place to dwell upon what he was as a man, but a few words your lordships will pardon me. In spite of the absorbing and increasing nature of his duties and labours in connection with the law, he never allowed himself to be entirely occupied by them. His energies were distributed in many directions of fruitful activity with a view to the benefit of his fellow-men. He obtained the highest rewards of the career which he had chosen, but I believe that few men have ever less made them their ambition or their aim. I have met few who were more completely unworldly in spirit than was Lord Selborne. On his lofty sense of duty it is not necessary to dwell. All must recognise it. Where his duty, as he saw it, led him, there he followed without flinching or reserve, and without the slightest regard for personal consequences. Behind a somewhat reserved manner there lay, as all who had the honour and pleasure of Lord Selborne's acquaintance knew, a kindly heart and a warm affection. If there were some who thought at times that his judgments of those who differed from him on political questions were unduly severe, I am sure that they were all ready to recognise that this resulted solely from the strength—I may almost say the passionate strength—of his convictions, and was in no way prompted by personal ill-will, or malice, or desire to give

offence. I am quite sure that in this House we all, without respect of parties, feel that the House is poorer for his loss. A blank has been left which will not easily be filled; and those of us who have to take part in the discharge of judicial duties in this House, sitting as the ultimate Court of Appeal, will long have reason to mourn the loss of an invaluable colleague.

LORD HALSBURY.—After what has been most truly said by the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, I should be doing violence to my own feelings if I did not express to your lordships my desire to be associated with what has been said. It has been my fortune to practise before Lord Selborne as an advocate, and to sit with him as a Judge; and I can truly say that no one could have gone through that experience without recognising not only his vast learning and unflagging industry, but that which is, perhaps, more desirable in a Judge, the candid determination, at whatever cost, to arrive at a true solution of any problem put before him. The noble and learned lord has truly described the personal character which was behind the great judicial character I have indicated; and I may say for myself, speaking with the knowledge now of some considerable time, that I have ever found him, as all who came within the sphere of his influence found him, a most kindly and generous friend.

The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.—It would be presumptuous on my part to attempt to add anything to the tribute which has been paid by the noble and learned lords who have addressed your lordships to the legal eminence of the great lawyer whose loss we mourn. But I desire, on behalf of those with whom Lord Selborne was, during many of the later years of his life, most closely associated in politics, to tender to those noble lords the expression of our gratitude for the recognition which has been given to the character of Lord Selborne, not only as a lawyer, but as a statesman. The extraordinary acuteness and subtlety of Lord Selborne's intellect could not fail, whenever we listened to him, to remind us of the Oxford student and the trained lawyer; but the conviction and the energy with which he advocated and supported his political opinions must have served to remind all who ever heard him or knew him that Lord Selborne was something much more than an advocate. We

could not fail to recognise that the political opinions which he held had been formed conscientiously, as they were held with tenacity. I desire, also, on this occasion, to recall to the recollection of your lordships the extraordinary self-sacrifice and patriotism with which Lord Selborne, for many years after politics had ceased to have any personal interest for himself, continued to advocate and defend the causes which he had at heart, with an energy and a perseverance which might have put younger men to shame. I only desire now, on the part of his political friends, to tender to the noble lords who have addressed the House our most sincere and heartfelt thanks for the recognition which they have given to the great qualities of Lord Selborne.

The MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.—I should be sorry to allow this occasion to pass without adding, on behalf of my own political friends, a tribute to the character of Lord Selborne—not as a Judge, for that has been amply done, but as a statesman and politician. I have been with him in this House for more than two-and-twenty years, and by far the greater part of that time I passed in opposition to him, though in the later years of his life I was his political ally. But during all that time when I was in opposition to him, in the course of many anxious debates, I recognised—as every one else who took part in those debates recognised—not only the extraordinary power which Lord Selborne brought to bear upon the examination of every argument that could be urged on any political question, but also the great fairness and candour which were always present with him, and always led him to attribute the best motives to his opponents and to give the fairest colour he conscientiously could to the arguments and considerations which they adduced. He appears to me, my lords, to have fulfilled an ideal which is hard to attain in such a political system as ours—to have reconciled perfectly the patriotic independence of the individual with the practical association with other men which our party system requires. He was a strong party man, and he did his best for his party; but he never, under any temptation or under any circumstances, forgot the vital principles to which he was conscientiously attached, or allowed any political object to induce him to swerve from following them sincerely. The noble lord who has just sat down mentioned how Lord Selborne, to the end

of his life, and often at the cost of great self-sacrifice, continued to maintain with earnestness and vigour the opinions and the causes to which he was specially attached. That observation leads me to conclude with a remark which, perhaps, may be out of harmony with the general tenour of our discussions in this House, but which, perhaps, the present occasion may seem to justify. It appears to me a worthy opportunity to remark on the attitude, in respect of the most sacred of all subjects, of the two great Chancellors, who have been mentioned in this discussion. Abroad, and to some extent in this country, you will find men who affect to think that attachment to Christianity, and a belief in its truths, is an indication of a feeble intellect. But no one who knew intimately either Lord Cairns or Lord Selborne, as I had the privilege to do, could doubt that, while they belonged to the acutest intellects which have ever adorned Parliament or the law at any period of our history, they were not less remarkable for the intensity of the belief and the conviction with which they cherished the Christian truths which they supported by their conduct, and to which they had always been attached.

The EARL OF ROSEBERY.—My lords, I did not come down to this House with any intention of taking part in a discussion which, I understood, would be limited to the legal members of your lordships' House. But it would not be proper, after the remarks of the noble duke and the noble marquis, that I, holding the position which I do in this House, should seem to abstain from the discussion when it has passed beyond the bounds to which I had thought it was to be limited. I have not the good fortune of being able to say, like the last two speakers, that I was in political agreement with Lord Selborne during the last few years of his life. I may say that, on more than one point, we were in very acute disagreement. But that enables me all the more sincerely to say, on my own behalf, and, I am sure, on behalf of those who act with me, that no difference of opinion abated in the slightest degree our respect for that great man, or our memory of the services which he had rendered to his country. It was my privilege once, for a very short time, to sit in Cabinet with Lord Selborne; and, though the time was short, the experience was rich, because no one could sit in council with him without being struck by the laborious fairness which he brought

to the consideration of every question, great or small, that was submitted to him. We have one or two great qualities associated with Lord Selborne which cannot perish with his name or generation. We have the memory of an industry which was in reality sleepless, and of which the traditions surpass, perhaps, all that is known of human industry. We have that disregard of worldly position, of worldly temptation, which led him in 1868 to refuse the great prize of his profession rather than palter with principles which he held higher than any prize or any profession. I think he showed something of that in his appearance. There was something in his austere simplicity of manner which I think must have recalled to every onlooker something of those great lawyers of the Middle Ages who were also great Churchmen, for to me, at any rate, Lord Selborne always embodied that great conception and that great combination. I congratulate the noble marquis who spoke last on having touched a higher and deeper note than any of those who preceded him; and I, at a great distance and with great humility, beg to associate myself most entirely with the praise which he passed on Lord Selborne in the religious aspect of his career.

The Times, SATURDAY, 18*th May* 1895.

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY

Both Houses of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury reassembled at Westminster yesterday morning for the transaction of business.

THE UPPER HOUSE

The BISHOP OF LONDON said—I think it would be right, before this House parts, that some expression should be made of the feelings with which we cannot but regard the loss the whole Church has sustained in the death of the chairman of the Lay House. Lord Selborne was certainly a very remarkable instance of a kind of statesman that is not very often seen, I should say, in these days, or perhaps in any days, for he was a man whose public as well as his private life was conspicuous above everything else for its religious character. Religion with

him was not merely the guide of his private conduct, it animated everything he did, and it was impossible to mistake that even in his public action and in all that he had to do—even in what very often seems to be incompatible with religion, in his ordinary political action, his devotion to religious principles, and those who knew him well would say his devotion to our Lord and Master, could always be seen. He was ready at all times to sacrifice everything for the sake of those high principles by which he lived, and he put before the whole world a model of what a statesman of the Church of England ought to be. He put before the whole world the model of the true religious man in high position. There never for a moment was any doubt that in whatever he did religious principle was supreme, and to us Churchmen it is a very serious loss, only to be compensated by the blessing of such an example as he gave, that he should have been removed at such a crisis as this. In fact it is a loss which never can be repaired, and there is no man who can precisely take his place, and yet we trust that, as has been seen in the case of all great and good men, after their deaths their lives have had a more powerful effect than even while they were living, and their memory and the influence which they have exercised on those whom they have left behind have been an increasing power for the blessing of many thousands. I cannot but believe that it will be so with Lord Selborne, and that we shall long look back upon him, and upon his work, and long treasure his name, and long feel that the influence of his character remains, though he himself is no longer present to guide us and to aid us. If I may add one word more upon quite a different matter, I would say that those who enjoyed the personal friendship of this great and good man will for the rest of their lives thank God that they knew him and they loved him.

The PRESIDENT said it was almost unnecessary to add a word to what the Bishop of London had said, but perhaps the House would think it right that he should say a few words as to the loss sustained in Lord Selborne's death. The presence of God was the supreme thought in his mind. He might be compared with such a man as Sir Matthew Hale or Sir Thomas More, for he was a great man by his natural powers and a great man

by his extraordinary acquirements. When he left the Chancellorship, he declared his intention of devoting the remainder of his life to the service of God in the Church. He was a model of learning, and had a beautiful dignity and kindness, as well as a truly Christian spirit. In his own home he was a perfect model of the English gentleman, and made all around love him.

The following notes are due to the kindness of legal friends who made time, amid pressure of work, to contribute their recollections of Lord Selborne in his early days at the Bar as Roundell Palmer, and in later years as Chancellor and Judge.

It may possibly be observed and regretted that he did not himself chronicle more of his professional life—but the fact is that, intensely proud as he was of his profession, and deeply imbued though he was with the sense of its importance to the Country and the Constitution, he was sensitive to the want of sympathy on legal subjects and measures which prevails generally in the political world, and to the short-sightedness (as he thought) which too often prevents statesmen from appreciating the value of the careful development of our system of law; and this affected him in writing these memorials.

BARON POLLOCK wrote in 1897: "I send what I have written—my difficulty is I had not work enough in Equity to know his great cases. It is not from want of time or will, for I had and have a higher respect and regard for him than for any one who was not a relation.

"Wickens, afterwards Vice-Chancellor, when he was a Junior, told me a story of Roundell Palmer which is eminently charac-

teristic of his force of character, and seemed almost to foreshadow his success in later life.

"Palmer, Wickens and one or two others were on a reading party at Seton near Lyme Regis.[1] One day they amused themselves by jumping over the wooden groins, each trying to take the highest leap. Palmer had never taken interest in athletics and was soon out of the running. Another day the same amusement was resorted to, but to the surprise of his companions Palmer took the highest jump of all.

"Wickens afterwards heard from the boots of the inn that 'the gentleman had been up and out at six for some mornings practising jumping for more than an hour.'

"My own practice being almost entirely at the Common Law Bar, I had not the same opportunity of seeing Roundell Palmer or acting with him as had his Equity Juniors, but we met not unfrequently in consultations, and I held briefs with and against him in appeal cases, from the colonies in the Privy Council.

"What struck me most in his character and training as a lawyer and an advocate was his possession of two very opposite qualities which are seldom to be found in one man.

"Beyond compare he was the most industrious and exhaustive leader I ever met with in mastering the facts of his cases before he came into Court. On the other hand, when once a case was launched, he was the quickest and most astute to draw distinctions or to shift his ground of argument, as the facts proved, different from those in his instructions. His mode of dealing with a case was more subtil and more exhaustive than that of any Counsel within my recollection. A very learned Equity Junior once compared Palmer's style with that of a contemporary Queen's Counsel against whom he was often opposed. 'Selwyn,' he said, 'when he wishes to demolish a case, stands up like a prize-fighter and pummels away, striking right and left, sometimes hitting, sometimes missing. For a time the operation seems doubtful, but after a few rounds, the force begins to tell, and the case lies low, disfigured and diminished.

"'When Palmer's turn comes he places his adversary's case on the table of the Court with all the care and delicacy that would be used by an anatomical demonstrator, and then proceeds to

[1] See *Memorials*, Part I. vol. i. p. 143.

dissect it, pointing out to the Court as he goes along its discrepancies and inconsistencies, until by a complete dissection its force and effect is destroyed.' "

In illustration of the exhaustive industry of his work Baron Pollock continues: "In several cases in which I held briefs with Palmer at the Privy Council, the appeal came from the Court of Lower Canada, where the law administered is the old French Civil Law as it existed before the Code Napoleon. On meeting him at his chambers for consultation it seemed impossible that he could have read the facts set forth in a long brief within the time allowed; but he would begin by asking the meaning of some half-obsolete French word or phrase to be found on the third or fourth hundredth page of an Appendix containing excerpts from the old French law writers.

"One of the most remarkable cases of its kind in which Palmer was engaged was that of *Pole and Leask*, tried before Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, in 1860; it involved disputes arising out of a long series of contracts extending over several years which were made between two large firms; also charges of fraud. The dispute had arisen so far back as 1852, when Mr. James Shaw Willes advised the plaintiff that his best course would be to proceed by a Bill in Chancery. This led to the necessity of obtaining a large body of evidence which was taken before a special Commissioner, and more than ninety meetings were occupied in the examination and cross-examination of witnesses. After years the case was ripe for trial. Sir R. Palmer, with Mr. Smith of the Equity Bar, and myself as Juniors, held briefs for the plaintiff.

"The day before the hearing, a consultation was held at Sir Roundell's chambers at five o'clock. By seven o'clock the general points of the case having been discussed, Sir Roundell told us that we could not assist him further, and, letting us go, worked on with a clerk and accountant, mastering the details. Next morning after a short consultation he opened the plaintiff's case, speaking from half-past ten to four, except for the short adjournment allowed for luncheon. Then came another long consultation, after which Sir Roundell again took the whole night working at the case, and on the second day continued his statement from the sitting to the rising of the Court. That night he never went to

bed. The next day he finished his opening by two o'clock. The evidence then commenced, and the hearing occupied in all eight days, Sir Roundell replying for seven hours on the last day. I can recall no instance of a Counsel giving up so much mental and bodily work to his client as this, and yet both before and after the hearing he continued his other work as usual, without making any special allowance for the fatigue which he must have undergone; nor did he ever, during the conduct of the case, show any signs of exceptional exhaustion."

LORD HOBHOUSE

As regards method, I doubt whether your father had any which he or any one else could put into words. Unsparing labour which he performed with rare celerity and an equally rare power of retaining whatever he took in, as long as he required it, was, so far as I know, his only method.

When I first came into close contact with him (at the beginning of the forties) his business was not a large one. He did a good deal of his work at night and was not an early riser. Some two or three years later his business increased largely; and later he took to getting up early and doing a great portion of his work in the morning.[1]

He never did a first-rate junior practice, partly owing to the great elaboration of his drafting, all done with his own hand; partly also to the short time which elapsed between his rising into any large business at all and his taking silk.

It was when he became Q.C. and free from the trammels of writing that his great brain power carried him far ahead of nearly all his rivals. He settled in the Rolls Court of which Romilly had recently been appointed Master. Lord Romilly despatched more business than any other Judge, but he was not well fitted for dealing with cases of great complexity or legal subtlety, and consequently has not much reputation now. But he was admirably fitted for disposing of the simpler cases.

The Master of the Rolls was attentive, strong in common sense, desirous of justice, quick to seize a leading feature of the case, very tenacious of it when seized, intolerant of nonsense, and not afraid of any Counsel, however able. R. P. has said to me, "Romilly does his work in a way which surprises me every day

[1] See *Memorials*, Part I. vol. i. p. 473.

of my life." The consequence was that for a very large proportion of cases, the plaintiff's Counsel (who had a choice of Courts) advised the Rolls. This state of things was highly suitable to R. P.'s success.

Romilly usually had ten or twelve of the "short" cases (*i.e.* not very heavy as to facts or law) in his day's list, and he often got through them all, and R. P. would be engaged sometimes in all—seldom in less than eight.

These briefs for short cases he would not have opened when he went to bed; but getting up perhaps at 3 A.M., perhaps earlier, he would master them all in time for consultations, beginning at 9 A.M. or earlier. And he knew them thoroughly and was prepared to take them at any moment. If it was proposed to call a case out of its turn, other men would often object, having calculated on more time for mastering their briefs, but Palmer never. And his attention never flagged. He would be reading perhaps a case for opinion, or writing an opinion, or looking into some law book for his next case, or nodding with sleep, and yet he never seemed to miss anything material that was said.

At the time I speak of there were three great Advocates in a front rank before all others, — Bethell, Palmer, Cairns. I never knew which I would sooner have to lead me. Each of them had his own points of superiority, though each was very good at all points. Cairns, I think, excelled in strong common sense and broad, lucid arrangement of facts; Bethell in force of exposition and direct attack on his opponent, whether Counsel or Judge; Palmer in power of work, in knowledge of his briefs, in ready memory, and vast resources of case law, in subtlety and great skill in addressing himself to unforeseen exigencies. He could perform the most difficult operations of strategy, changing front in face of the enemy. It was an admirable sight to see him turning the flank of a hostile position taken up by the Court, such as Bethell would have attacked in front; rounding off an angle here, attenuating a difference there; bringing some previously neglected portion of the case into relief, relegating others to the background, and so restoring the battle. Of course all great advocates can do this more or less; but that which gave R. P.

the superiority in it (apart from the great versatility and adaptability of his mind and his complete command of temper) was above all his perfectly accurate and ready knowledge of every detail to be found in his papers. Other men caught up the facts in accordance with the plans of operation they had laid out. R. P. caught them all up—and so had greater resources, as well as the power to use them instantaneously. Even in little things he showed his superiority of industry and memory, for he could find his way about his papers quicker than his junior, who perhaps had been studying little else for days; and if there arose dispute which made it necessary to search for a passage in the Document, he nearly always found it first. His endurance was quite as marvellous as his quickness and his memory. When he was Law Officer the strain upon him was enormous.[1] His power of going without sleep and yet retaining his mental activity at its highest level was far greater than that of any man whom I have known personally. On one occasion he told me that he had worked sixty hours without cessation. I have seen him during one of these times all trembling and quivering from overstrain, and yet apparently as quick and alert in mind as ever.

There is one glimpse he gave us into his mind in connection with his professional career, which I think should be mentioned. Some few years ago I saw a report of a speech he delivered to some assembly of young men in which he said, "If I were asked what was most important to a man for success in the world I should answer, A good conscience"—and he went on to explain why. I was much struck at the time, and I have often thought of it since. All general maxims have their limitations; but I believe this one to contain as much truth as any; and unquestionably for *him* it must have been true; and we may be sure that the peace of mind ensured by a blameless life enabled him to bear toils and anxieties which otherwise would have broken him down. Cf. Horace (quoting his father if I remember rightly)

> Hic murus aëneus esto,
> Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ,
>
> Hor. *Ep.* I. i. 61.

[1] See *Memorials*, Part I. vol. ii. p. 457.

SIR NATHANIEL LINDLEY, Master of the Rolls

My first introduction to Lord Selborne was in 1855, when we had a consultation before going into Court on what is known as a short cause; *i.e.* a cause in which minutes of the order desired had been carefully prepared and were not likely to provoke opposition, nor indeed to give rise to discussion. The case was very complicated, and was one of many in Lord Romilly's list for the day, in most of which Roundell Palmer was engaged. I had prepared the minutes, and they had given me great trouble. To my surprise I found that my leader had gone through them with the greatest care, and had thoroughly mastered every detail and did not want any assistance from his junior. I never knew any other leader take so much trouble with cases which involved no real difficulty if prepared with care. I mention this as eminently characteristic of the man. I knew him well afterwards professionally, both at the Bar and on the Bench. We worked together for several years on the Roll Committee. On all occasions, small and great, what struck me most was the extraordinary pains he bestowed to master whatever he undertook to do. His power of work was enormous, and his sense of duty so imperative that he was never satisfied with any effort he might make if he felt that still more could improve his work.

It was natural that such a man should be reluctant to rely on the work of others, however able and trustworthy they might be. Lord Selborne certainly did not, and could not avail himself of the labours of others to the same extent as great men of different temperament habitually do with advantage to themselves and without detriment to any one else. His conscientiousness was so sensitive that he could not do this.

Lord Selborne's knowledge of law was unrivalled. His skill as an advocate addressing a Court of Law was consummate. He never made a bad point, and never overlooked a good one. The arrangement of his matter was excellent, and his language was that of a cultivated gentleman. He never stooped to an unworthy artifice, and although a very formidable adversary he was the soul of honour and uprightness. On the Bench he was courteous, patient, and firm. His Judgments are amongst the best which exist.

Lord Selborne was one of England's great lawyers—great as an Advocate, great as a Judge—but greatest of all as a Lord

Chancellor of the first rank, habitually guided by a profound sense of duty to God and man to which everything else gave way.

NATH. LINDLEY.

7th Nov. 1897.

LORD DAVEY

When I became a student of Lincoln Inn in the year 1858 Roundell Palmer was the leader of the Rolls Court, which then sat at the Rolls House in Chancery Lane. Palmer had an undisputed lead in the Court, Mr. Selwyn (afterwards Lord Justice Selwyn) having the second place. In V.-C. Wood's Court, Rolt and Cairns divided the lead between them, while in the second rank were such men as James (afterwards Lord Justice), Amphlett (afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer, and subsequently Lord Justice), and Giffard (afterwards also a Lord Justice). Those were the great days of the Chancery Bar. Never before or since did so many men (some first rate and all good) adorn that branch of the Bar. Shortly after I was called to the Bar, Palmer was made Solicitor-General, and after he left office he did not return to regular practice in the Rolls Court but went "special" only. I was introduced to Sir Roundell Palmer at Lambeth Palace, and I ever afterwards received much help and encouragement from him, and I am indebted to him for many acts of kindness. I was engaged in a considerable number (for so young a man) of cases either with or against Sir Roundell Palmer during the remainder of his time at the Bar. The first case of any importance in which I was engaged was before Lord Romilly. Sir Roundell Palmer was my leader, and after opening the case he had to leave the Court for other engagements. When he returned I had just commenced the reply. Lord Romilly, with all his merits as a Judge, was not very patient of a young junior, and I had a bad time of it. Sir Roundell sat through my speech, and then paid me a compliment accompanied by a prophecy which I will not repeat. Again in the Privy Council he went out of his way to pay me a compliment on my argument as junior on the opposite side. I mention these things at the risk of being thought egotistic, because there was an impression amongst some members of the Bar that Palmer was cold and unappreciative towards his juniors, and sometimes even unfair to them. That was not my experience, and I knew that

my dear friend and former tutor Mr. Wickens (afterwards V.-C. Wickens), who had seen a great deal of him at the Bar, formed the same opinion that I did. His mind moved very rapidly, and when he was in full practice his time was very precious. In consultation he was curt in expression, and was impatient of irrelevant twaddle from client or from junior, but he would always listen and attend to anybody who had anything to say, and in my experience was never wanting in either courtesy or consideration. I remember one case in which he invited an expression of my opinion, and the lay client was afterwards very angry with me because (as he said) I had made Sir Roundell take a wrong view of his case and advise against him!

When cases were argued by Palmer on one side, and Rolt or Cairns, or later Jessel (afterwards Master of the Rolls) on the other, it was an intellectual treat, and to us young barristers a valuable lesson in advocacy to listen to them. It is perhaps rash to attempt a comparison of such men as those I have named, or to assign their special characteristics. All three were great lawyers. Rolt had a beautiful voice and attractive manner, and gave his arguments both on law and on fact with great force and persuasiveness. Cairns's voice and manner was less attractive, but nobody exceeded him in directness and clearness of exposition. Palmer's mind was as quick and acute as that of either of his great competitors. He had, I think, an even larger knowledge of case law and greater subtlety. If he could not meet his opponent's arguments on principle or on authority in front, he had an extraordinary power of subtle distinction and refinement which enabled him to walk round the argument and attack it, as it were, on flank. The only Counsel who at all equalled him in this quality within my experience was the late Mr. Benjamin.

After he was made Lord Chancellor, in the year 1872, Lord Selborne for some months took the business of the Rolls Court as a Judge of first instance, when Lord Romilly had practically retired, though his successor had not been appointed. He also presided in the Court of Appeal when the House of Lords was not sitting. His great store of professional knowledge acquired in the course of his practice at the Bar and his rapid appreciation of the relevant facts of the case, and of the law applicable to them, were conspicuous; and his courtesy and patient atten-

tion to the arguments of counsel unequalled. During this period he delivered several important Judgments, particularly in Company law. In this class of cases, which deal with large business interests, it is of special importance for the Judge, while laying down the law with accuracy and precision, to deal with them in a broad spirit which will commend itself to men of business. Lord Selborne's Judgments on Company law stand this test, and on many points have become the leading authority. But it was of course in the House of Lords and Privy Council that Lord Selborne's judicial reputation was chiefly made. He sat in one or the other regularly, both when in office and when out of office; and it was in these two tribunals that my practice latterly chiefly lay. It is a bold thing to attempt to sum up the qualities of a great Judge, and it is with some diffidence that I venture to put into words the result of my own experience. I should say first that Lord Selborne was distinguished by a rapid and accurate appreciation of the relevant and material facts and a rare power of sifting the wheat from the chaff in the complicated mass of evidence and documents which too often fill the appeal books in the House of Lords and Privy Council. This was no doubt partly due to his training and experience at the Bar. But his power of reproducing these facts and documents in a lucid and intelligible form in his Judgments was a gift of his own. In those days it was more common for both the House of Lords and Privy Council to deliver judgment at the end of the argument than it is now, and I often thought that Lord Selborne's oral Judgments so delivered were quite as good as his written Judgments. Secondly, I should mention his great industry in the performance of his judicial duties. Judgments when he presided were seldom delayed for more than at most a few weeks, and I have been told that when Judgment was reserved he usually wrote it immediately after the conclusion of the arguments. In connection with this I should mention his great knowledge not only of legal principles but of what lawyers call case law, *i.e.* previous judicial decisions. In writing his Judgments it was his habit to comment on the previous decisions and point out the distinctions between them, and put them into their proper places. The result has been to increase the value to the practitioner of his Judgments, which are often a

complete commentary on the particular branch of law, and recognised as the *dernier mot* on the subject. An illustration of this is to be found in his Judgment in Maddison *v.* Alderson, 8 App. Ca. 467, on an important question of Equitable Jurisprudence in connection with the Statute of Frauds, but of no interest to the lay reader. Needless to say that Lord Selborne was the master of his authorities and not their slave. The third judicial quality in Lord Selborne that struck me was his absolute fairness and obedience to law. All English Judges are impartial but not all have the power of divesting themselves of prejudice. Lord Selborne had this power in an eminent degree. I have argued cases before him in which there were elements of prejudice in my case, and my client's moral conduct in the matter would not bear examination, but one had the absolute certainty that one's argument would be carefully considered, and if I could show I was right in law I should succeed. I never knew any Judge less disposed to strain the law in a hard case than Lord Selborne. This, I need hardly say, was not from lack of moral indignation. I have said nothing of Lord Selborne's knowledge of law and grasp of legal principle because that is a commonplace. Some critics have thought that his subtlety of mind led him sometimes (as was also said of the late Lord Bowen) to give refined reasons for his Judgment when it might be rested on plainer or broader grounds. There may be some truth in this criticism, but if it is meant that Lord Selborne was wanting in breadth of legal vision I do not agree. I may point to the Judgments he delivered in the constitutional questions which came before the judicial committee of the Privy Council chiefly from Canada, but also from other parts of the Empire. I will mention his Judgment in the Queen *v.* Burah (3 App. Ca. 899), in which Lord Selborne had to consider the position of a subordinate legislature, and formulated and laid down the doctrine which is now accepted that a subordinate legislature is not the agent or delegate of the Imperial Parliament, but within the ambit of its jurisdiction has plenary powers of legislation. I will also point to the series of Judgments delivered by Lord Selborne on appeals to the Privy Council in the administration of the Endowed Schools Acts, which are conceived in a broad spirit and designed to give the utmost effect to those useful Acts. I should personally like to record my sense

of his universal courtesy to Counsel except when he thought they were not playing quite fairly, and I will conclude with a story. One day Mr. Benjamin, myself, and Mr. Russell Roberts had to open an appeal before the House of Lords. With Mr. Benjamin's permission I went down to the Courts on some small matter of business, engaging to be back before twelve o'clock to follow him. On my return I found to my horror the junior on his legs. He had not expected to have to argue, as it is a standing rule of the House of Lords not to hear more than two Counsel. What had happened was this. The Lord Chancellor, in the course of Mr. Benjamin's opening, had said to himself, but unfortunately too audibly, "What nonsense!" Thereupon Mr. Benjamin, who had a quick temper, shut up his book and left the House. On my rising to reply after the respondents had been heard, the Lord Chancellor said in his polite way that he supposed they were indebted for the pleasure of seeing me to what had taken place on the previous day. On my assenting, the Lord Chancellor expressed his regret at having given unintentional offence to Mr. Benjamin in terms which were in my opinion amply sufficient. I obtained his leave to mention what he had said to Mr. Benjamin, and under the circumstances he permitted me most irregularly to reply in his place. I must own that I had some difficulty in inducing Mr. Benjamin to write a letter to the Lord Chancellor accepting his expression of regret. But I did so, and handed the letter to the Lord Chancellor, and there the matter ended. I believe I am the only Counsel who twice was allowed to address the House as third Counsel on the same side. The other occasion was an Irish Appeal in which the Attorney-General for Ireland was my leader. I was detained at the Courts by a very important case, and on arriving at the House of Lords I found an Irish gentleman following the Attorney-General. But on perceiving me he made such a pathetic and humorous appeal that I should be heard that the Chancellor assented. These are pleasant reminiscences of Lord Selborne's kindness and consideration for the Bar.

There is one further note worth recording. When at the Bar as Roundell Palmer, Lord Selborne did not take fees when

from any cause he was unable to do the work, although much labour might have been involved in getting up the case. An instance of this appeared lately in a Canadian Journal.[1] The town of Dundas had been involved in a heavy lawsuit in connection with the Desjardins Canal. The case was carried to appeal before the Privy Council, and the brief sent to Sir Roundell Palmer with a retaining fee of £200. A bill of exchange for £200 was returned a year later with a note to the effect that, owing to his becoming Chancellor, he had not been able to do anything in the case.

It is hoped that the following letters and extracts may serve as illustrations to the last chapter of these *Memorials.*

MY DEAR LADY SOPHIA—I have been reading with great interest the two volumes of your father's memoirs,[2] which bring back to me so many recollections of early days, and of old friends. I should like to convey to you an incident connected with a later period which struck me strongly, the more so that in later years I saw very little of your father—but especially because it was characteristic of the unselfish and the thorough way in which he did whatever work came to his hand.

It was when he was Chancellor in Gladstone's Ministry, and when Chamberlain was at the Board of Trade (1882). Bankruptcy was one of the most important subjects of the day. Bill after Bill had been passed and had proved unsatisfactory, and there was a demand for a new departure. Bankruptcy Bills had always been peculiarly within the province of lawyers —of the Chancellor and the Law Officers. On this occasion it was arranged that Chamberlain, as President of the Board of Trade should undertake the measure, possibly—but this I do not know for certain—in order the better to meet the views of commercial men. The Bill was a very important one, and made

[1] *Dundas True Banner,* 4th November 1897, kindly sent by Honourable Senator (formerly Judge) Gowan.

[2] Part I. "Family and Personal."

great changes in the law and practice. If successful it was likely to reflect—and it did reflect—great credit on the Minister in charge of it. Great pains were taken with it. There were daily consultations at the Board of Trade attended by representatives of the Treasury and other departments concerned—at which the Bill was discussed in detail clause by clause. At all these your father attended, from eleven in the morning to five in the evening, giving his closest attention and the benefit of his great legal knowledge and experience as carefully and intensely as if he had been the draftsman. I need not say how gratefully his help was received by Chamberlain.

You may say this was all in the way of business. But for a man of your father's age and eminence, in whose hands the measure no longer remained, and who would get no credit by it, to give such ungrudging assistance to a younger man into whose hands it had fallen, is not a common thing. Indeed I should say from my experience of public men that to give ungrudging help where no credit can be got from it is characteristic only of the noblest natures. But it was your father's characteristic at all times to put his whole soul into anything which he undertook without regard to his own interest; and it was a great pleasure to me to see this characteristic which I knew so well in earlier days, displayed on this occasion. The last time I spoke with him was in the House of Lords when he said to me, *apropos* of something which Hobhouse and I had taken part in, "I do not always agree in all the views of my old pupils; but it is a satisfaction to me that they try to do what they think is right, and to say what they think is true." So the last word was a very pleasant one.

He was the hardest worker I ever knew, and I have known many hard workers; but what is still more important, he worked in a noble and unselfish spirit, which was of much more value to his pupils and to others who came within the sphere of his influence, than any direct teaching, however valuable that may have been.—Believe me, sincerely yours, FARRER.

DEAR LADY SOPHIA—I cordially endorse Lord Farrer's testimony, as to the assistance given in the preparation of the Bankruptcy Bill.

Lord Selborne was always ready with his advice and experience, and in absolute disregard to any personal credit to be gained thereby.[1]—Believe me, yours very sincerely,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The character of his work, noted by Lord Farrer, was never more marked than in regard to Education. It was said[2] that "of Wykeham's College in Winchester Lord Selborne might almost be called the second Founder, for his was the directing mind in remodelling the constitution about twenty years ago; and it was a happy thing for the school that this work was accomplished under the guidance of one who combined a deep reverence and affection for all that was good in the ancient system, with a clear perception of what was most needful to adapt it to the requirements of modern times." In regard to his own school such service would be a matter of course in his position as one of the Governing Body, and then as Chairman; but unstinted work and interest was equally given in the case of other schools, and to the cause of education generally; and I am grateful to Mr. Walker, the High Master of St. Paul's School, and to Sir Philip Magnus, for their help in giving some impression of Lord Selborne's connection with St. Paul's School, of which he was a Governor, and with the City and Guilds of London Institute for the advancement of Technical Education, of which he was Vice-President and Chairman of the Council;

[1] Compare with these letters the end of the leading article in the *Times* of 6th November 1871, quoted in vol. i. p. 133.

[2] By the Dean of Winchester (Stephens) at the Memorial Service in the Cathedral on 8th May 1895.

to be taken also as representing his relationship to similar bodies, upon which it is not possible here to enlarge.

Mr. Walker writes: Before entering on my duties as High Master of St. Paul's in 1870, I attended a meeting of the Governors, convened for the purpose of framing certain regulations required by the new scheme, under the Endowed Schools Commissioners. Lord Selborne took the initiative in the proceedings, and I was much impressed by the great interest he took in the school, and the minute care he devoted to the drafting of rule after rule.

At the Apposition Dinner in 1877 the Editor of the *Times* (who was my guest) remarked to me, after Lord Selborne's speech, that he and Lord Derby were the two men who above all others had the greatest influence over the public opinion of Englishmen in social matters, and that Lord Selborne's words would practically ensure the prosperity of the school in the immediate future. As a matter of fact that speech, reported next morning in the *Times*, was of great service to St. Paul's in its progress under new conditions.

When a meeting of the Governors was held to consider the question of rebuilding the School on another site, the preliminary question was raised whether St. Paul's should be divided (for the purpose of separate schools, classical and modern) into two buildings. Lord Selborne advocated a single great school, and his counsels happily prevailed.

He made a most effective speech at the opening ceremony of the new building in 1884, in which he gave his views on St. Paul's.

From 1884 to 1892 was a time of peace for the school, and I neither heard nor saw anything of Lord Selborne's action as a Governor (the High Master not being present at the Governors' meetings unless specially summoned); but when in 1892 the position of St. Paul's was threatened by the Charity Commissioners, he took a most active part in the Governors' discussions on the subject, and I gathered his view to be that the one way of saving the school was to place it if possible under the Public Schools Act. In fact, he promised to give his support in

the House to a Bill for that purpose. It is needless to say he convinced me that he was right.

From Sir Philip Magnus's Notes is given what follows:—

It was in 1874 that Lord Selborne persuaded the Mercers' Company (of which he was by inheritance a member) to fall into line with the other City Livery Companies in their scheme of Association for the promotion of Technical Education; and in the early days of the movement his tact and judgment were invaluable in avoiding jealousies between the different Companies and in preparing the way for that Association which, under the name of the City and Guilds of London Institute, became the pioneer of the Technical Education movement, and which but for him might never have existed.

In the preparation of the Articles of Association, Lord Selborne's advice and legal knowledge proved of the utmost value; and the fact that he, though Lord Chancellor in a Liberal Government at the time of the incorporation of the new Institute, had served in 1875 as Master of the premier and most conservative Guild, gave him an amount of influence over the Livery Companies which greatly helped to consolidate the work.

One of the early acts of the Liberal Government of 1880 was to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the income and the mode of expenditure of the several City Guilds. Lord Selborne himself gave evidence before this Commission, and his evidence showed so clearly that the corporate property of the Companies was absolutely their own, and that in connection with the City Guilds Institute and otherwise they were spending large sums for educational purposes, that the Report of that Commission issued in 1884 left the Companies on the whole in a stronger position than they had previously occupied; and, except in the matter of the payment of succession duty, no legislative action followed the publication of that Report.

It was only to be expected that causes of difference and of difficulty might arise among Companies, associated solely by their own free will, subscribing during the pleasure of their respective Courts, and capable at any time, by any reason of their own, of withdrawing from the Institute. It was on the occasion of such difficulties that Lord Selborne's conciliatory

powers, his keen sense of justice, his long experience in the methods of adjusting disputes, proved of so much service; and on one occasion, when a serious crisis occurred, which resulted in the secession of an original subscribing Company, and in the consequent rearrangement of the several departments of work, Lord Selborne's patience and counsels saved the City and Guilds of London Institute from a convulsion that might have led to its dissolution.

Although as Chairman of the Council, Lord Selborne was not required to attend the ordinary meetings of the Committees, he followed very closely every new departure and development, and in his annual addresses to the Governors, delivered at Mercers' Hall, he reviewed concisely, but yet with the closest reference to details, the work of every department of the Institute during the preceding year.

His address in 1884 when distributing the prizes to the students in the Fishmongers' Hall is memorable as showing how completely he had made himself master of all the details of the work of the Institute; and the eager counsel he gave on educational problems still unsettled, was truly inspiring. He took no narrow view of the requirements of education. He recognised that it was equally useful, if properly applied, to masters, foremen, and workmen. But it was the moral aspect of education to which he drew special attention—to education as a means of forming character. Lord Selborne struck a hopeful note when he said: "If we use the best means according to the best of our lights and exert ourselves as much as ever we can, I think we shall not find that, with the advantages with which we started, we shall be ultimately beaten in the race." His exhortation to workmen to shun all that is false and slipshod was equally earnest. "Truth is the greatest thing of all: truth in a man himself and truth in his work. What is there that more frequently makes our ears tingle, and our face blush than when we are told that there are people in our great centres of industry who make a systematic practice of passing off inferior manufactures as superior ones, and selling them in foreign markets by names which are false?"

Lord Selborne presided at every meeting of the Governors from the date of the incorporation of the Institute in 1880 till

1895, except that held in March 1882 when H.R.H. the Prince of Wales occupied the chair. On that occasion he was present and moved the adoption of the Report. Indeed his first absence from the annual meeting of Governors was in 1895, when a letter was read from him stating that he was unable to be present owing to an attack of influenza.

His disappointment on that occasion was great, for not only was he, as has been said, deeply interested in education generally, but in regard to Technical Education and its special benefit to artisans, his strong feeling for what is called the working class made him value highly the opportunity of serving their interests through the City and Guilds of London Institute.'

He used to object to the term "Working Class" being commonly restricted to Artisans and Labourers —and said that he had a right to be included.

His power of throwing his whole heart and generous sympathies into whatever cause he touched is shown in his words at a Meeting in the Temple on 16th April 1886 in support of the Oxford House in Bethnal Green.

"Almost immediately after taking my degree at Oxford, I had the privilege of going on a visit, for three or four days, to Dr. Arnold at Rugby, whom I had not before personally known, and there were some things which he then said which have remained on my memory; this, especially, he said, any man's life was imperfect which was not brought into close and direct contact with the poor. It made an impression on me at the time; the more so, because I had been brought up in a country village, among the poor, and by a father who loved them. No doubt, when I was among them as a boy, I did not understand them so well as I have learned to do since; but still those good words

of Dr. Arnold fell upon a mind not entirely unprepared by previous training, and all through the rest of my life I have felt the truth of that teaching. It is a miserable thing to be absorbed in those worldly interests, those worldly feelings, those worldly objects, which result from the isolation of a class, and especially of a class superior, in education, or in fortune, or in rank, or in any other external advantage, to others; to be proud of those advantages, to shut one's self up in them, to be engrossed in them, to set one's heart upon them, it is really more degrading than to be in the lowest position of society. I have often thought that I would rather be the humblest crossing-sweeper, sweeping the streets, than a rich man and a great man, who was in that way selfishly proud of his own condition. And, in reality, these outward advantages, though nobody can deny there are some comforts, some pleasures of life, which they command, if not balanced by something more real, something better, are a burden upon life, and not a source of real happiness. To feel one's place in the great community, where men are in the one brotherhood of Christianity, to feel that we have, all of us, one human heart, is much more, much better worth having than either the highest rank or the greatest amount of wealth. Of course, to feel that without acting upon it, without having the enjoyment of practical sympathy with our brethren in every condition, is an imperfect thing. Though some of us may not have been able to take any active part in this excellent work amongst the poor, yet all of us, I think, have been from time to time, in every branch of life, so brought into contact with persons who belong to the poorer classes, or who have been drawn out of them, that we must feel many of them to be among our best friends, and to have as much right to a place very deep in our hearts as any in our own condition. Now, to speak of domestic servants. I do think the class of domestic servants are about the best friends, many of them, that we can have; and, whenever treated as friends, upon the footing, not merely of the relation of masters and servants, but of servants to the same Master placed in certain relations to each other and set to do each other good, you may depend upon it that people of that class are as worthy of our respect, and our esteem, and our affection as any of our own. And, as I am addressing lawyers, I

would venture to suggest to them whether the same is not true with respect to their clerks. When I was at the Bar, I had clerks, lost to me two of them by death, one before, and another after, I came to the place I was eventually called upon to fill; and I do not think, if I were required to reckon up the best and dearest friends I had in my life, I could possibly omit those men; and they came from those poorer classes. Not to dwell further upon my own experience, I can only say, that the more I have seen of these classes, the more I have felt the advantage, pleasure, and profit, arising from intercourse with them. You may depend upon it, there are real gentlemen among them, and as many from whom we may learn lessons, as there are to whom we may give them. To pass to the next topic, which is the more difficult to deal with, because it has to be dealt with by experience, and not from the outside: the good that may be done to these people who are in a different position outwardly to ourselves. That they need it, we all see; they have not the comforts, they have not the advantages, they have trials innumerable to undergo. And, if there were not something better than the outward accidents of this life can give, we might say that their lives were miserable. But they need not be. Because it does not depend upon the house or the room we live in, or the clothes we wear, or the dinners we eat, whether a man be happy or miserable. I feel sure that men whose minds and hearts are as they ought to be, may be happy in any condition. Therefore, we must not reproach them as miserable, because they are poor; they may be happy though poor, though we should like them to have the chance of becoming less poor. But we must approach them, not as persons to whom we are condescending, not as persons whom we are trying to lift out of the mire in a moral sense, though we should be happy to help them to keep out of it in another, but as persons who are really, in the highest sense, our equals; some of them our superiors, and who may help us as we help them. Well, I have no doubt we can do that; and the success of this and many other experiments going on in other parts of London and in the country, is enough to prove that they take pleasure in such intercourse with those whose education and refinement are higher than their own, when they see that

[illegible] genuine intercourse. It is then welcome to them. And all this you may depend upon it must be beneficial to them if it does them no other good than that of feeling and returning your sympathy. Still, I must say, the work is a difficult one. You must be in earnest about it. It must not be done as a luxury, as an amusement, though it may be a luxury when you get well into it, for to be brought into thorough contact with the hearts and minds of your fellow-creatures does reward you completely. But still you must not do it in a *Clerical* spirit. Do as much as you can, do not attempt more; but let it be done thoroughly, and with reality. With regard to the intellectual part of it, people going amongst those who have had less education, and less time for reading, but whose minds may, nevertheless, be very active—as, according to my experience, the minds of the London poor and particularly of the young men among them are—will be sensible of the great number of instances in which they may feel or raise a number of difficulties, that will not be solved by merely setting them aside. And I think that it requires great discretion, on the part of lecturers and teachers, to deal with the minds of persons in that active state intellectually, whose education has not been equal to their own. I cannot pretend to lay down any law, but in my own attempts I have made it a rule: first, to take great pains with the work; secondly, never to say anything I do not think; thirdly, not to deny that there are difficulties I can neither meet nor answer, but to try, in those cases, to show them how we live in a world of unanswerable difficulties, and that it is no proof that a thing is not true because you cannot explain it. And then if you yourselves set the example, and, as far as you properly can, impress upon others the importance of a certain degree of modesty and humility, and reverence in approaching great questions, with a sense of the responsibility for seeking truth in a really truth-loving way, you will be securing yourselves against the risk of giving merely shallow and amusing lectures; or lectures which may be very interesting, but may be unsettling in their practical effects. One word I would add upon the public good you are doing by works of this sort. As it would certainly not be the right road to success if we entered upon such a work merely for

the sake of the interest and gratification it might give to ourselves; so would it not if we entered upon it merely under the idea that we were living in dangerous and difficult times, and that for social reasons, it would be a great thing to try and diminish distance between classes; quite true, but that is not alone a sufficient reason for doing the work. But, if you do it in real sympathy with your fellow-men, and seeking common ground upon which you may meet them, and that for their sakes as well as your own—if so, you are doing a work of great public utility at the same time. And this is so especially in these times when the wide diffusion of elementary education, the general activity of mind, the universal distribution of political power, makes this union of classes indispensable to the public good. There are three words we all know, for they have a great history,—liberty, equality, fraternity. It is impossible that any three words can have done more harm in the world, and at the same time, it is impossible that there should be any which express deeper truths. As to liberty, I need not say it is a thing we all in this country have, or at least, we all think we have. Sometimes, I confess, I am afraid that some people are in danger of losing it without being aware of the fact. With regard to the other two, I would like to say something. As to equality, nothing can be more odious than the self-assertion which wants to level everybody down, to destroy all that seems to be above itself; nothing can be worse for the individual; and inasmuch as "equality" of that sort is absolutely unattainable, nothing can be more delusive for society. But I do say that the man who can most realise in his heart the true equality of man with man in the sight of God, is in the right way, both to do his own duty, and to help his neighbours, and to help society. The points in which men are equal, immortal souls, reasoning intellects, capacities of enjoyment and love and affection, are universal—and the more you help others to realise that, whatever their condition, the better work you are doing for them, for yourselves, and for society. Fraternity is the same thing under a better name; the spirit of brotherhood, the spirit of charity, that which is the animating spirit of this work; where that spirit, in its true sense, is present, you may depend upon it, there will be a reward to follow."

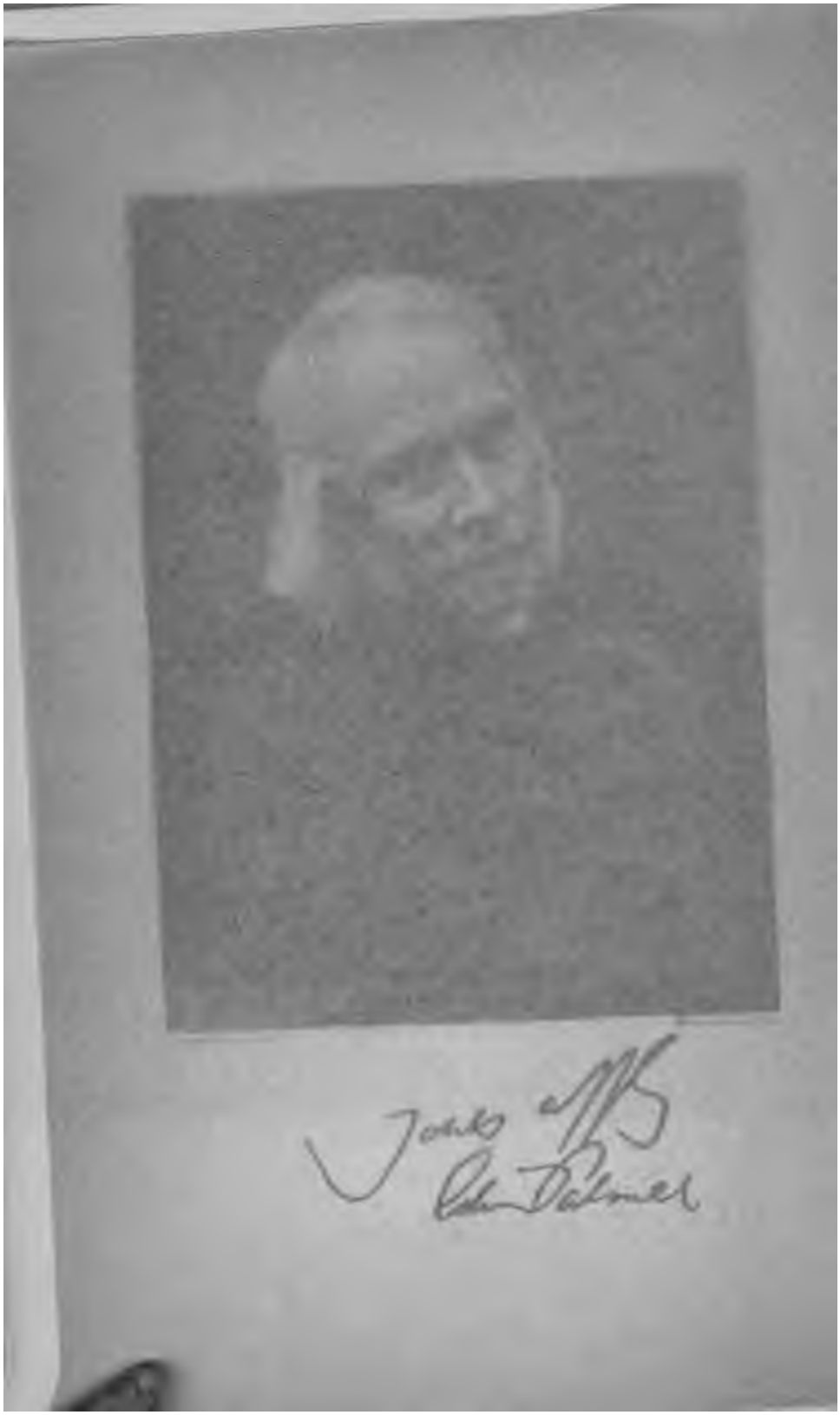
And to close—may I quote from two letters, samples of their kind, which bear out what has been stated elsewhere of Lord Selborne's help to others in different lines of need?

"I enclose (writes the Rev. Charles Danoch, from Medstead, Hampshire) letters from your father eminently characteristic of him . . . showing how kind he was in entering into the difficulties of country parsons; and I record, also the interest he took in the prospective working of the Parish Councils Act, and the shrewd grasp he had of its details."

From South London the Rev. T. Leary of St. Philip's, Avondale Square, sent his translation into blank verse of the Fourth Book of Virgil, as a specimen of the whole *Æneid*. "This your father carefully read, and made several most valuable suggestions touching on the text and the verse, to my great surprise and delight, though I had been engaged on this task off and on for more than thirty years. He seemed to have kept his Latin scholarship to the last, and it was marvellous in its precision; and what is more he spared no pains to do a kind act to one almost unknown to him. I shall ever count it a happiness to have met and spoken with one so gifted, and so good to me, and to others."

APPENDIX

CONCERNING EDWIN PALMER, D.D., ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD, DIED 17TH OCTOBER 1895



THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON PALMER

The Oxford Magazine, 23rd Oct. 1895

How fast has brother followed brother! The beginning of last Term saw us mourning the loss to Church and State and the University of Lord Selborne. To-day it is his brother, truly a brother in his brilliant gifts and in the use he made of them, whom we must regret and require. As an undergraduate, when success and ambition was natural and even a duty, he took the very foremost place and the highest prizes. As a graduate, though he could not avoid becoming officially prominent and distinguished, he was always giving his gifts and his labour to help others, young or old, preferring them in honour, concealing his name and fame beneath his service to them. Never was there a life in which great ability was spent with more simple rectitude, more true humility, more scrupulous and ungrudging faithfulness.

The Ven. Archdeacon Palmer

Among the many who, in Oxford or elsewhere, are joining in the general expression of regret for the death of Archdeacon Palmer, there are doubtless some who, unless they had learned the fact from newspaper obituaries, would not know that he had not only been for many years a most distinguished Balliol tutor, but had also held, from 1870 to 1878, the Corpus Professorship of Latin. When Bishop Mackarness appointed him to succeed Archdeacon Clark, it is understood that his peculiarly academic antecedents, brilliant as they were in their own line, suggested some malcontent criticisms on the part of not a few of the diocesan clergy. Professor Palmer was indeed the son of an Oxfordshire rector: but after a University residence of thirty-five years, could

was shortly to follow Riddell's death. The two friends were strangely unlike, and perhaps for that very reason each delighted in the qualities of the other. Palmer was quite ashamed of having won the Hertford and Ireland over the head of his senior, whom he always maintained, and with unerring judgment, to be his superior in depth and delicacy of scholarship. But Riddell was essentially an unready man; Palmer was always clear and rapid in thought and expression, and in the examination-room, as in the lecture-room, he was far more effective than his friend. There survived to what was then the younger generation quaint stories of the early days of the two and of their relations to the old Master, Dr. Jenkyns. Haranguing on one occasion on the vice of gambling, the Master, after various attempts to express his horror of the practice and his determination to put it down, worked himself up to a climax in the words —"If the best man in the College, if Mr. Riddell or Mr. Palmer were guilty of such a thing, he should go." The two were elected Fellows together in 1845, when the Tractarian controversy was rife, and Dr. Jenkyns had some suspicions of their orthodoxy. He accordingly sent for them and suddenly propounded the question—"In what sense were they prepared to sign the Articles?" Riddell gasped in vain for a reply, but Palmer came to his relief in an instant—"In the sense, Master, of the Declaration prefixed to them." Jenkyns was at once pacified: "A very proper answer, Mr. Palmer, a very proper answer indeed."

As a College Tutor Edwin Palmer was remarkable for untiring energy. During his later time at Balliol he undertook almost entire charge of the men reading for Honours in Moderations during the year before their examination. He had little time for society beyond his own Common Room; even the senior Undergraduates saw little of him when once he had passed them on to Jowett and Newman to read for the Final Schools. All his time was required for his work. Night after night his rooms were besieged by a succession of pupils with compositions, translations, or critical papers. Not a moment was lost; Palmer dashed instantly at each fresh paper, correcting, explaining, and re-casting. By the end of twenty minutes another man was knocking at the door, but the crude performance had somehow

been put into shape, and when the pupil was dismissed with, "There, I don't say that it is very good, but it will do," he was astonished to find how much he had been taught. The pupil often left somewhat exhausted by the process, but exhaustion never seemed to touch the fiery vigour of the teacher.

Edwin Palmer's Classical Lectures were like his private work with the men. They were the most useful lectures at that time in the University, in all respects essentially business-like and practical. He seemed to be able to cover in a given time twice as much ground as any one else. Every difficulty of the author was sufficiently explained, and there was not a superfluous word. Palmer gave the impression of a man who had taken every point in each controverted passage, and had made up his mind on it a long time ago. There was no picking up of lost threads of argument, and no suggestion of any uncertainty to be cleared up as he spoke. His hearers might agree or disagree with his conclusions, but there was never any doubt what the conclusions were or on what grounds they were based. To Balliol Freshmen of the early sixties Palmer was the figure most in evidence during their first Terms of residence, and from his lectures they realised that they had got beyond the range of schoolboy work. They can never forget his vehement delivery of the invective of Demosthenes and Aeschines, and have still before them the picture of the slight spare figure of the Lecturer, instinct with life and action, as he paced from one end of the room to the other, emphasising each point in his rendering by utterance and gesticulation, as if he were possessed for the moment by the very spirit of the orator. Then, almost before the paragraph was finished, he had turned suddenly on one of his audience with a demand for a translation or an explanation; and he was a bold man who did not quake at the appeal. While he was lecturing, each of his hearers felt that his own mental faculties were kept perpetually on the stretch in response to Palmer's highly strung nerves and peremptory energy.

With all his readiness of resource and of utterance, Edwin Palmer was in those days a man of shy and nervous temperament, and this nervousness had its effect on his intercourse with his juniors. They never quite knew what to expect. His manner was apt to be hurried; he spoke rapidly, almost abruptly;

he puzzled men by alternations of cordiality and reserve, the first coming from the underlying tenderness of his heart, the second the result of a certain diffidence, which made him shrink from expressing all that he felt. Some misunderstood him in consequence, and imagined him to be cold and hard towards them; those who knew him best recognised that his interest in his younger friends was keen, and his affection for them deep, but that it was not his nature to unveil himself except momentarily and abruptly. When the opportunity came for an act of delicate kindness, he was never found wanting.

Palmer left Balliol in the year 1869 to become Professor of Latin. He was the valued friend of his predecessor in the Chair, John Conington; and Conington is known to have expressed on his deathbed the hope that Palmer would succeed him as Professor.

The intellectual quality which struck one most in Edwin Palmer was his rapid lucidity. His thought was always clear cut, as its expression was incisive. He did not love controversy, but he was interested in the subjects of controversy. In each question of theology or philosophy, as in each question of scholarship, he knew exactly where he stood, and could have laid down precisely the answer which he was prepared to give—"Yes," or "No," or "I do not know." In the last case he has been known to define his position by quoting, "It is a very pretty quarrel as it stands." His pupils sometimes thought that nature had meant him for a lawyer, that his mind was cast in an essentially legal mould, and that in that line he would have been as eminent as his brother, Lord Selborne. Along with this intellectual clearness, he possessed a quality not always associated with it, for Edwin Palmer was above all things a scrupulously fair man. One could not conceive of him as snatching under any possible temptation a party advantage. He used his rare perspicacity of mind to put himself in an opponent's place, and he was rigorous in allowing nothing to his own side which he would not have been willing to grant to the other.

For more than twenty years Jowett and Palmer were associated together as Fellows and members of the staff of their College, and this sketch would be incomplete without a word

about their relation to each other. Two men of such strong will and character and so far apart in opinions could not but find themselves in an attitude of antagonism. On one point indeed, and that the main one, they were always agreed; both were devoted to the College and to their pupils, and each recognised in the other an untiring and effective helper in the work of education. Still, during the stormy period of the life of the College, it was not in the nature of things that Jowett and Palmer should have appreciated each other, as both deserved to be appreciated. It is pleasant to remember that long before death parted them they were heartily reconciled.

Lenit albescens animos capillus,

Palmer once gracefully remarked of Jowett in his later years; and those who witnessed the delight of the late Master—just rallying at the moment from the illness which preceded his last—at the election as Fellow of the son of his old colleague, and the innocent manœuvres by which he secured that he should be the first to congratulate the Archdeacon, could not but feel that their story had a happy ending.

JAMES L. STRACHAN DAVIDSON.

FROM THE BISHOP OF OXFORD'S (STUBBS) THIRD CHARGE 1896

It is impossible even now, after six months' experience, to estimate the entire bearing of the loss which Archdeacon Palmer's death has brought upon us. His devotion, his wisdom, his profound unselfishness, his judgment for others, as well as for his own action, his readiness in resource, his fulness of information, his clearness of expression, his unflinching courage, his unfailing sympathy, are known far beyond the limits of his immediate area of work. His long acquaintance with Oxford,—the University and Colleges,—acquaintance with all men and things that were worth knowing, for more than fifty years, critical, most critical, some of them, made him an almost unique element in the continuity of University life, and also in that continuity of connection between the University and Church life which, under however varied and modified forms, must continue to exist until the salt has lost its savour. We know of no man who had

more friends, and every one of them looked to him as their best friend. There was no one whom more people trusted, and no one whom they who trusted him trusted more entirely. Those who were within reach of him as Archdeacon know, each for himself, the helpfulness, the wise and liberal helpfulness, which was always found in him. With clear, strong, and determined views of his own, he had a power, not only of realising the attitude and point of view of others, but of advising them under their own conditions. In this he shared the qualifications of his most illustrious brother, Lord Selborne. And he had tolerance and sympathy with those who differed. So his counsels were always those of faith and peace. His gifts for the transaction of business were not less complete and always at the service of any good cause. And with all the gifts there was a most singular single-heartedness—no assumption, no pretension, nothing like a forwardness to monopolise either work or credit; a simplicity of the truest nobility. And now he has left us his example.

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

I HAVE been guided by the judgment of my brother-in-law, the Bishop of Southwell, as to adding this selection from a collection of translations and adaptations by my Father to these Memorials. I have also included some original verses. His poem on the 450th Anniversary of the Completion of Winchester College was given in Part I. vol. i. in the year in which it was written.

FROM CATULLUS: "PENINSULARUM SIRMIO," ETC.

Sirmio, thou eye of sea-bound lands and isles
  Which, on the calm breast of the limpid pools
  Or giant Ocean, either Neptune rules,—
  O! with what transport do I hail thy smiles,
Doubting against my sense, that still forlorn
  I tread Bithynia's plains, not gaze on thee!
  O! what is happier than the heart care-free,
When the mind lays its burden down, when worn
  With foreign toil to our own hearth we come,
  And press the unforgotten bed of home!
This is worth all the labour, only this!
  O hail, sweet Sirmio, in thy lord rejoice!
  Laugh, lake of Lydian waters, lift thy voice!
Laugh, every dimple in Home's cheek of bliss!

R. P., *March* 1834.

FROM CATULLUS: "PHASELUS ISTE, QUEM VIDETIS, HOSPITES"

Strangers, the pinnace you behold
Among the ships her peers of old
Boasts to have been the first in speed:
The craft she could not pass at need
With flashing oar or canvas set
Never on water floated yet.
Nor fears she question of her boast
From Cyclad isles or Adria's coast,
Tempestuous Thrace or famous Rhodes,
Propontis, or the Pontic floods,
Where she, the self-same pinnace, stood
In days of yore, a leafy wood:
For oft upon Cytorus' hill
With speaking leaf she whistled shrill.
Pontic Amastris of renown,
Cytorus of the boxen crown,
All this our pinnace doth declare
That once you knew and still can swear:
That at her first and earliest birth
On your green brow she sprang from earth,
In your bright waters dipped her oar,
And thence through those wild surges bore
Her loving master; careless she
Which way the breezes swept the sea,
Right hand or left hand blew the gale
Or filled from both the tightened sail.
Nor vow was made, nor prayer was given
To any landsman, God in heaven,
From the far Euxine's inmost bay
To this clear lake the livelong way.
Those times are over—now in age
She rests secure from tempest's rage,
And dedicates her latter days
To Castor and his Brother's praise.

R. P., *March* 1834.

FROM CATULLUS: "SUPER ALTA NECTUS ATYS CELERI RATE MARIA"

Light was the bark, and o'er the wave full swiftly did she glide,
Which bore young Atys from his home to Phrygian Ida's side;
And lightly sprung his eager step, to gain the dark abodes,
The mountain's forest-crown, where dwells the Mother of the Gods.
There, with the frenzy on his soul, the fever on his brow,
He did the deed, the dreadful deed, and swore the deadly vow.
Then bidding adieu with a thoughtless joy to manhood renounced for ever,
And the broken links and the golden ties which his madness had dared to sever,
He seized,—the changed in sex, she seized,—a drum with snow-white hand,
Trumpet and drum, dread Mother-Queen, symbols of thy command,
And with tender fingers beating on the folds of hollow hide
Sung in quick and quivering accents to the followers at her side.
"To the woods away! to the lofty woods! to the forests of our Queen
Together come, wild wandering flock of sovereign Dindymene!
Ye who fled like houseless exiles, seeking countries strange and new,
Ye who my resolve embracing, following me, companions true,
Bore the dark and rapid surges and the fierceness of the sea,—
Loathing love beyond all measure, who forswore your sex with me,—
Cheer your glad hearts with the coursing and the flight our mistress loves!
Away with sloth! follow away! come together to the groves
Together to the Phrygian groves, to Cybele's Phrygian seat
Where the voice of cymbals sounds and the clashing drums are beat,
Where the Phrygian piper tunes to grave notes his crooked reed,
Where the ivy-bearing Mænads toss their heads in frantic speed,
Where they ply the holy mysteries with yells of piercing sound,
Where all that wandering company of the Goddess flits around,

Whither now for us to hasten it were dutiful and meet,
Blithely bounding, deftly dancing, pressing on with eager feet."
Scarce had the lips of the Transformed thus to her comrades spoke,
When a wild shout of trembling tongues from all the chorus broke;
The light drum echoes all around, the hollow cymbals clang,
And soon green Ida's deepest shade with their quick footsteps rang.
With them frantic, breathless panting, all bereft of reason roves
Atys to her drum's fast music leading through the sunless groves,
Like a wild and tameless heifer, from the yoke indignant flying;
Her the moon-struck votaries follow, with their guide in swiftness vying.
So, when they reached Cybele's dome, wearied and over-wrought,
Ere their dry lips had tasted food, refreshing rest they sought:
Sleep covers with his filmy veil their languid swimming eyes;
All the wild fury of the soul in that soft slumber dies.
But when the Sun with golden face and glittering eyes again
Surveyed the white air, the hard ground, the perilous rough main,
And with his fresh steeds full of life drove off the shades of night,
Sleep to Divine Pasithea's breast from Atys took his flight.
And then from soft repose arising, her frantic frenzy[1] gone,
As Atys pondered silently on the deed which she had done,
And what she was, and where she was, too clearly understood,
Her shuddering heart beat high, and back she hurried to the flood.
There across the boundless ocean, gazing far with weeping eyes,
Thus she called upon her country, pouring sad her piteous sighs.
"O, country dear from whence I sprang, O country of my birth,
Which I, like slaves their masters flying, quitted for Phrygian earth
In evil hour, and bent my steps to Ida's forest shade,
There among snows and chilly dens of beasts to lay my head,

[1] *Rabidâ sine rabie.*

And tread their savage fastnesses and lurking caves of fear,—
Where, in what region dost thou lie, my country ever dear?
On thee my straining eye-ball longs to fix its eager sight
While my weak mind enjoys its gleam of momentary light.
And must I roam through these wild woods, far from my lovely home,
From my country, my possessions, friends and parents, must I roam?
From the race-course and the wrestling-school, from the forum and the game?
Wretched, ah wretched! mourn, my soul, thy misery and thy shame.
For oh! what shape or form remains, which I have never borne?
I was a man, a youth, a lad,—I was a boy unshorn,—
I was the flower of all the games, I was the circus' charm;
Mine were the crowded gates and mine the doors with kisses warm;
Mine was the home with crowns of love and blossoms garlanded
When the first sunbeam on my couch its wakeful lustre shed.
And shall I bear a priestess' name? I bend a Mænad's knee?
I be the shadow of myself, a shrunk and sapless tree?
I roam the green hill's frozen heights, the snow-clad heights of Ide?
I beneath Phrygia's lofty peaks my weary life abide
With the hind, the woodland-dweller, with the forest-ranging boar?
Oh! my rash deed! it grieves me now; now it repents me sore."
Soon as from those vermilion lips parted the scattered sound
To ever watchful ears on high with its new tidings bound,
Straight from her car the Mother-Queen unyoked her lions twain,
And roused the fold's dread enemy who felt the outer rain.
"Hence! fiercely hence! begone!" she cried; "drive back in furious mood,
Drive back with fury panic-struck into the sacred wood
Yon fugitive so bold to sigh for freedom from my sway.
Go! chafe your sides with lashing tail! your own loud stripes obey!
Make all the thundering region round echo your roar again!
Shake fiercely on your brawny neck your bright and gleaming mane!"

The Goddess spoke with threatening mien, and set the monster free.
He summons all his native rage; furious with savage glee,
He stalks, he roars, the crashing boughs with bounding foot he rends;
And, when he gains the utmost point where the white shore extends
And sees young Atys by the wave gazing with tearful eyes,
Makes a fierce spring—the stricken soul into the wild wood flies,
There all her livelong days to pass, a slave and bond-maid still.
Goddess! O Goddess great and dread, Mistress of Ida's hill!
Far be thy frenzy, ever far, from me and all I love!
Move others with thy wild desires, others with madness move!

R. P., *March* 1834.

From Shelley: "Arethusa arose from her Couch of Snows"

I

Arethusa nivali est
Orta cubili
Montibus Acroceraunis,
Ex nube et scopulo
Cautibus horrido
Fontes lucida congregans.
Desiluit saxis
Tricolor [1] comas
Inter flumina diffluens;
Convallem viridi
Pede constravit
Pronam ad vesperis ignes;
Lapsuque et saltu et
Cantibus ibat
Somni murmure mollior
Terra favebat amans,
Et domus ætheris
Ad mare risit eunti.

[1] "With her *rainbow* locks" (tricolor).

II

Tunc Alphëus atrox
Gelida in glacie
Movit saxa tridenti,
Barathrumque refregit
Montibus, omnem
Vi quatiens Erymanthum.
Dejecitque niger
Pone premens Notus
Taciturnæ nivis urnas,
Motuque et tonitru
Dissiluerunt
Claustra supina jugorum.
Visa Dei madidis
Barba capillis
Præceps per cataractam,
Dum velocifugæ
Sequitur nymphæ
Lucem ad Doridis oram.

III

"O parce, O serva, et
Conde profundo!
Jam jam crine prehendor!
Audiit Oceanus
Per vada cœrula,
Discessitque precanti.
Et fugit sub aquas
Ut nitidum jubar
Filia candida terræ;
Non intermixtâ
Subtus eunti
Salsâ Doridis undâ.
Turbida ceu labes
Viridi in pelago

Pone Alphëus adest ruens,
  Ut venti exagitat
  Vorticibus natans
Aquila infensa columbam.

IV

  Sub loca, qua Vires
  Oceanitides
Gemmatis soliis sedent,
  Per sylvas liquido
  Curalinas salo,
Lapides super incognitos ;
  Per tremula in mediis
  Lumina quæ fretis
Nectunt texta colorum,
  Et sub speluncis
  Qua tenebrosæ
Nemus ut nocte virent aquæ ;
  Carchariam et xiphiam
  Prætereuntes
Subter canitie maris,
  Atque iterum elapsi
  Per cava montium,
Cessere in Siculas domos.

  Nunc fonte ex uno, in
  Montibus Ennæ
Valle ubi lux oriens cubat,
  Ut amici ex iris
  Conciliati,
Peragunt humida pensa.
  Sole novo e celsis
  Saliunt curis
Curvi collis in antro ;
  Stillantque sub æstum in
  Nemorum latebras,

Pascuaque asphodelorum;
  Et nocte in tremulo
  Marmore dormiunt
Ortygium prope littus,
  Ut pendent animæ
  Cœruleo in polo
Non vivæ, sed amantes.

R. P., 1842.

FROM MOORE: "OFT IN THE STILLY NIGHT"

Sæpe in nocte silenti,
  Donec vincla paret sopor,
Blandâ luce priores
  Mnemosyne revocat dies;
Risus et lachrymas sacræ
  Verbaque grata puertiæ,
Et jam cassum oculis jubar,
  Et jam gaudia cordibus.

Sæpe ego mente sodales,
  Dilectam recolens manum,
Quos occumbere vidi, ut
  Brumæ tempore flosculos,
Stare ut post epulas herus
  In vacuâ videor domo,
Inter marcida serta, ex-
  tinctaque lumina solus.

R. P., 1842.

FROM WORDSWORTH: "'TIS SUNG IN ANCIENT MINSTRELSY"

Phœbus, ut prisci memorant pœtæ,
Siqua per sylvam placuisset arbos,
Nectere auratos solitus capillos
  Fronde decorâ;
Donec audacem fugiens amorem

Constitit Daphne, et precibus petitâ
Stirpe decrescens, nova laurus almis
Se dedit umbris.

Conscius culpæ miseransque Raptor
Cœpit ex illo redimire dios
Laureâ crines, neque viliorem
Ferre coronam.
Inde per cunctos pia turba vatum
Laureâ frontem religavit annos;
Reddiditque aris sacra laureatus
Debita Victor.

Sic ab arcanis veterum tenebris
Fama virtutis repetenda castæ,
Turpium audentis vetitos honorum
Spernere calles:
Quæ, nisi juncti caleant amores,
Dona contemnit, neque cedet armis;
Provocans morti, nisi laus supersit
Integra vitæ.

R. P., 1846.

From the Homeric Hymn: "Dionysus and the Pirates"

(ἀμφὶ Διώνυσον)

I

Of Bacchus, famous Semele's great son,
Our song shall run;
How once he stood
On the brink of the barren Ocean-flood
Upon a jutting point; a young man seeming
In his first bloom; his coal-bright locks were streaming
Loose to the wind, and o'er his shoulders strong
A purple robe was flung.

Soon on the wine-dark wave there rose to view
A gallant ship, with pirates for her crew,
Which evil stars from far Tyrrhenia drew.
Quickly they saw; then each gave each a nod,
Leapt to the shore, and straightway seized the God,
And in their vessel with glad hearts bestowed:
For sure, they said, this is some monarch's heir:
So with fast bonds to bind him they prepare.
But him no cords could hold; the twisted wands
Fell from his feet and hands
And their strange prize
Sat laughing at them with his coal-bright eyes.

II

Now shouts the Pilot (all his comrades hear him):
"Madmen! what God is this
Whom ye would bind? such mighty power is his,
Our stout ship cannot bear him.
This must be Jove, or silver-bowed Apollo,
Or Neptune; for the fashion of his face
The likeness of the Olympian Gods doth follow,
Not of poor men, a death-doomed race.
Touch him no more; quick let us haste to land,
There set him free,
Lest he command
Foul winds and furious storms to vex us on the sea."

III

The Captain heard,
And answered with a bitter taunting word:
"Look to thy helm, good friend! Make tight the sail;
Stretch every inch of canvas to the gale!
We that are men our prize will hold;
And, if I guess not ill,
To Egypt or to Cyprus he shall go,
Or to the realm of Hyperborean snow,
Or further still;

And he shall tell us all we would be told,
Who are his friends, and what their store of gold,
His brethren too,—this god-send to the bold."

IV

Soon as he spake, they raised the mast on high:
The wind into the sails blew lustily:
The ship was rigged in all her bravery.
Then marvellous things were done.
First, gurgling wine began to run
Sweet to the smell and pleasant to the lip
All over the dark ship,
And heavenly odours rose:—thereat amazed,
The mariners stood and gazed.
Anon a vine with gadding tendrils leapt
From sail to sail the topmost shrouds among,
And grapes in heavy clusters downward hung:
Dark ivy round the mast-tree crept
With budding flowers and graceful fruitage crowned;
And every port-hole was with garlands wound.
Fain would they make for land:
But now upon the bulwarks see him stand,
A dreadful lion! fiercely did he roar!
And, to affright them more,
Midship he raises up a shaggy bear
Stretching her paws, as if in act to tear;
And now again, with furious eye,
That lion grim glares on them from on high.
Then to the stern they fly,
Cowering the pious-hearted Pilot round:
But the God with a sudden bound
Instantly the Captain slew:
Whereat the sailors every one,
Such tremendous fate to shun
Into the deep with a headlong leap
Their trembling bodies threw,
And there in the salt waters changed to dolphins grew.
Alone the Pilot mercy found:

Him the God with blessings blest,
And thus addrest:
"Fear not, holy Pilot, well pleasing in my sight:
Know that I am Bacchus, the lord of sound and might,
Bacchus, son of Semele, great Jupiter's delight."

V

Hail, son of bright-eyed Semele! The man that loves not thee
Shall never know the art divine to frame sweet minstrelsy!

R. P., *February* 1847.

FROM HORACE: ODE 2, LIB. I.—"JAM SATIS TERRIS," etc.

Enough of dreadful hail and snow
On earth sent down! The Father's hand
Temples and towers has smitten low
With fiery brand,
Frightening the City, frightening men,
Lest the old times of portents dread,
Which Pyrrha saw, return again,
When Proteus led
His flock to many a mountain height,
And fishes lodged in tops of trees
Among doves' nests, and does in flight
Swam the wide seas.
We have seen Tiber, checked in vain,
Pour wildly from the Etruscan side
On works of Kings, and Vesta's fane,
His yellow tide.
On his left bank, to vengeful mood
Stirred up by Ilia mourning still,
In Heaven's despite, th' uxorious flood
Wanders at will.
Of swords made sharp for Roman life
(More meet for Persian foes to fear),
Of battles, thinned by civil strife
Our youth shall hear.

What God the falling State shall save?
What fervour of unceasing prayer
From Vestals, now unheard, shall crave
Their Mistress' care?
What Power, by Jupiter allowed,
Shall expiate the sins of Rome?
Come, thy white shoulders veiled in cloud,
Apollo, come!
Or Thor, if willing, Queen of Grace,
With Mirth and Love on hovering wings!
Or if, regardful of the race
Which from thee springs,
O! satiate with the long-drawn game,
Lord of wild shout and helmet bright,
And rushing Moor with eyes of flame
Hot for the fight!
Or if, for mighty Cæsar's doom,
Sweet Maia's wingèd son, thou bearest
Th' Avenger's name, and earthly bloom
In semblance wearest,—
Late to the skies be thy return!
Long with Rome's people be thy stay!
Let no swift breeze, in wrath or scorn,
Waft thee away!
Here choose great triumphs; here take pride,
Father and Prince, in love and praise;
Nor let the Median horsemen ride
Safe in thy days.

SELBORNE, 1890.

FROM HORACE: Ode 7, Lib. I to MUNATIUS PLAUCUS:—
"LAUDABUNT ALII CLARAM RHODON" etc.

Let others praise Rhodes, or the walls with twin seas
Of Corinth, or Tempe's deep hollow,
Mitylene or Ephesus, Bacchus-loved Thebes,
Or Delphi beloved by Apollo.

Some in praise of the City of Pallas, the chaste,
  Perpetual songs are singing,
The olive alone of all leaves to their taste :—
  Some, to Juno their incense bringing,
Tell of Argos steed-famed, or Mycenæ's rich treasure.
  Me, not Lacedæmon undaunted,
Nor Larissa's fair plain, ever moved to such pleasure
  As Albanea's dome echo-haunted,
And Anio's swift rush, and Tiburnus' dark wood,
  And the orchards with dripping rills streaming.
As the South wind not always brings tempest and flood
  But can wipe off the clouds, whitely gleaming,
So, Plancus, relieve thy life's labour and pain
  O'er the mellow juice reclining,
Whether deep shades of Tibur thy footsteps detain,
  Or the camp, with its standards shining,—
When Teucer his father and Salamis fled,
  It is told, how he gaily crowned
With a poplar garland his wine-flushed head,
  Thus cheering his sad friends round.
"O comrades and mates! whither Fortune may bear,
  Than my Parent more kind, let us follow!
While Teucer's your captain, O never despair!
  For sure stands the word of Apollo,
In a new land new Salamis yet is to be!
  Now drown in the wine-cup your sorrow,
Brave men, of worse ills often partners with me :—
  Once more we cross Ocean to-morrow."

SELBORNE, 1890.

ORIGINAL VERSES

EPITAPH ON A YOUNG LADY, UNHAPPILY DROWNED: (In imitation of the manner of the Seventeenth Century).

She was lovely, but the wave
Heeds not beauty, and the grave
  Is all too cold for love.

She was virtuous, but the earth
Was not worthy of her worth,
Which Heaven itself did move.

She was the pure star which lighted
Our weak steps, while all benighted
With guilt and care they strove.

She has left despair behind her;
Yet in joy we hope to find her
Among her peers above.

R. P., 1834.

ODE RECITED IN THE THEATRE AT OXFORD, ON THE INSTALLATION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS CHANCELLOR, IN SUCCESSION TO LORD GRENVILLE.

A few eventful years have passed away
Since that auspicious day
Which saw the flag of conquest furled,
And hailed the princes of the rescued world
Met in the land of liberty, to raise
A holy hymn of gratitude and praise.
Hither to Learning's seat they came
Where never rung
War's brazen tongue,
Where the Muse watches at the gate of Fame,
And ever glories to enrol
Heroic deed and virtuous name
On her immortal scroll.

Thou wert the boast of that illustrious day,
Far as thou wert away,
In battle-field or council board
Europe's best guardian with thy heart and sword!
Then first delighted Oxford hailed thee Son,
And twined thy wreath with laurels of her own:
Proud of the Chief, her country's pride,
In peril proved,
In conquest loved,

Peerless defender of the righteous side!
  Perchance ev'n then she saw in thee
  In darker hour her chosen guide
    Over a stormier sea.

That hour has come:—and thou art still the same
    In mind, in heart, in fame,
  The same that Gaul's proud legions found thee,
And lord of all the gallant hearts around thee!
Oh! we will never fear! let foes be loud,
Let envious tongues delude the gaping crowd,
  Let all I dare not speak come on,
      We will not fear
      While thou art near!
Sooner shall mountain torrents backward run,
  And Nubia's swarthy son grow pale,
  Than against Truth and Wellington
    The cause of wrong prevail!

Then welcome, welcome to the sacred halls
    And venerable walls
  Of ancient Learning, to the ground
Where Cranmer died and Charles a refuge found:
To sit in Sheldon's dome on Sheldon's seat,
And tread the blessed steps of Grenville's feet.
  Welcome to faithful hearts and eyes,
      Trust without fear,
      And love sincere,—
And to those prayers we proffer to the skies,
  That bounteous Heaven may spare thee still
  Thy high and holy destinies
    Triumphant to fulfil!

R. P., 1834.

TO LIBERTY

(SUGGESTED BY "THE GIPSIES," AS THE SUBJECT FOR A PRIZE POEM AT OXFORD)

O Liberty, sweet Liberty! Thy home
Is with the winds which course the Ocean foam,

Or with the mighty living things, which sweep
Ranging at will th' illimitable deep.
Earth is not thine: but yet thou lingerest still
Around the barren brows of each tall hill,
And lovest oft to feed thy serious mood
In the green depths of some sequestered wood.
And there the man, whose heaven-aspiring mind
Can leave the base and drossy world behind,
May follow thee, and find thee; there may learn
The secret things of Wisdom to discern,
Know his true place in Heaven's eternal plan,
And feel the power and dignity of man:
For such are truths thou teachest. O! how sweet
To taste in every pulse's glowing beat
The zest of overflowing life! To move
Through scenes of danger in the strength of love,
With heart so justly poised, that every tone
Seems struck in unison with Nature's own:
Whether we mount the height, or breast the surge,
Or linger in strange transport on the verge
Of some sheer mountain, whence the wistful eye
Soars as on wings, and scales th' untrodden sky!
O! wherefore toil and labour, to destroy
Such large capacities of noblest joy,
Bartering for tinsel wealth and hollow mirth
Our natural birthright in the boundless earth?
For rather would I roam the woods with thee,
And live thy willing slave, sweet Liberty!

R. P., 1837.

Gratiae Taberna[1]

Invitante gravis me Præsule causa, forensi
Defessum strepitu, Saturni vespere sero,

[1] This attempt to imitate the style of some of Horace's Satires arose out of an adventure at Oxford, on my return from Cuddesdon after my brother Edwin's Ordination on Trinity Sunday 1854. It was written, as far as the middle of line 36, immediately afterwards, and then laid aside for thirty-two years. Finding the unfinished MS. in 1886, I then added the rest,—in a manner more "canine," and still less Horatian, than the fragment.

Detulit Oxoniam. Redeundum ad pensa severa
Mane die Lunæ, et ferrati tramitis usus
Conducendus erat, pretioque horâque malignâ.
Et mihi dum ex statione via procederem in urbem
Lævo suspensus loculos tabulasque lacerto,
Protinus objecit se oculis, novitate renidens,
Hospitium modicum, dominæ cui Gratia nomen.
"Nonne hic commodum erit," sic mecum quærere coepi,
"Cras noctem facere, ut vigili calone vocatus
Solis ad occursum, et cute curatâ bene, (simplex
Victus erit, sed simplicitas non displicet) adsim
Promptus, et in nullo perdendi vota periclo?"
Transgredior limen: sese spectabilis offert
Blanda anus:—an possim cameram conducere mundam?
"Copia," respondet, "camerarum, atque omnia munda."
Ascendo scalam, video, mihi sufficit; illic
Extemplo chlamydem et caligas tabulasque relinquo,
Utpote quæ pedibus redeunti ex Præsulis aulâ
Officerent: jamque in curru per rura canino[1]
Auferor augustas, vix expectatus, ad ædes.

. . . . . .

Vespere de mensâ surreximus, et pede fausto
Venimus Oxoniam, mediæ quum proxima nocti
Hora per antiquas turres numerata sonaret.
Dixissemque, vale, ni tu, carissime frater,
(Perfide, si noris) fragrantes nectaris haustus,
Sermonesque tuos, gratumque pedestribus ignem
Pollicitus, spatium breve adhoc subducere somno
Suasisses. Nimis hora cito diffugerat una,
Quum manibus pressis discessimus. Ocyor Euro
Adsum cum loculis cauponæ ante ostia, quam sic
Protuleram sanus pro commoditate viarum
Balliolique domo et generosi Præsulis aulæ.
Omnia clausa; fores clausæ, clausæque fenestræ;
Lumina nulla, silentia dira.[2] Iratus et instans
Pulso iterum atque iterum. Descendit vix pede tardo
Calonis species, metuens incendia, fures,

[1] *Anglice*, dog-cart.
[2] Here the fragment of 1854 broke off.

Et me, multa gemens, demum intra tecta recepit.
Quæsimus, ingenuo cur sic occlusa clienti
Ostia? respondet, nullum exspectasse clientem.
"Quid? nonne hic chlamydem et caligas tabulasque reliqui?"
"Nescio; tu noris; circumspice; si tua sit res,
Ferre licet tecum, et discedere."—"Solis ad ortum
Discedo:—nunc lassa volo dare membra cubili.
Duc cito me ad cameram."—"Cameram?" nequissimus inquit,
"Nulla vacat."—"Sed conduxi; certe mihi restat."
Lampada corripio; taciti conscendimus; ipsam
Agnosco cameram, quam promisit mihi soli
Blanda anus. Intranti horribilis pervenit ad aures
Stertor! in optato recubant immania lecto
Membra viatoris, saccos mercesque ferentis
Multis sæpe locis. "Visne huic concumbere?" dixit
Perfidus irridens; "lecti te forte rogatus
Accipiet socium:—quod si id concedere nolit,
Non procul in thalamo est uno par agricolarum,
Tertius esse potes:—si non, locus hic tibi non est."
Quid faciam? fugio agricolas, hominemque viarum,
Stertorem, et saccos. "Sellæ mollesque tapetes
Sufficient."—"Non sunt: trabibus requiescere duris
Inferiore domo, aut longæ te credere mensæ
Hesternam cœnam et *cerevisia* pocula olenti,
Hoc unum superest." Præstat requiescere duris
In trabibus:—tunicâ me totum involvo, diemque
Exspectans jaceo. Tenebrarum tum novus horror
(Lampade sublatâ, et defensis luce fenestris.)
Occupat, incertum ni somno abreptus omittam
Crastinum iter:—surgo, conor reserare fenestras;
Incassum; exteriora coercet opercla serarum
Quicquid ibi est. Iterum compono membra sopori.
Ventus ubique fremit circum, torret grave frigus.
Protinus excussit somnos, seu rapta procellâ,
Seu male grassantûm vi deturbata latronum,
Cum sonitu magno ad terram dejecta supellex
Tota fenestrarum:—mihi gratulor; hinc mihi lumen
Commodum erit! Spes vana! importunus venit unus,
Custos quis vigilans urbi, sonituve malignus

Servulus audito, extemplo qui claustra reponit
Cæca fenestrarum, et tenebras misero mihi reddit.
Sic noctem facio. Nocti illi denique finis:
Omnibus humanis sunt fines denique rebus.
Mane novo ex statione viæ mihi nuntius adstat
Missus ut admoneat, ne somno forte gravatus
Perderem iter. Frustum breve sicci panis, et haustus
Tristis aquæ, pepulere famem:—tum quanta necesse est
Pro tali hospitio numerata pecunia:—lætus
Discedo barbâ intonsâ, vultumque manusque
Illotus:—neque te fata ulla revisere cogent,
Gratia, perfida anus, nec te, nequissime calo!

R. P., 1854. SELBORNE, 1886.

INDEX

Abel, Sir Frederick, ii. 297
Abercromby, Lady, ii. 236
Aberdeen, Countess of, i. 364, 458
  Fourth Earl of, ii. 110, 317, 330, 342
  Fifth Earl of, i. 458
Abinger, Lord, i. 57
Acton, Lord, ii. 297
Adam, Right Hon. W. P., i. 359
Adams, Hon. Charles Francis, i. 207, 228, 232, 237, 240, 241, 246, 249, 255, 256, 259, 264, 265, 266-268, 274, 276, 277
  Mrs., i. 246
  Professor, ii. 297
Adderley, Sir Charles: see *Norton*, Lord
Airlie, Countess of, ii. 263
Alderson, Baron, i. 9
  Miss, ii. 400
Alison, Sir Archibald, ii. 297
Allies, Thomas William, i. 438
Amphlett, Lord Justice, i. 379; ii. 440
Anstruther, Sir Robert, i. 359
Anson, Sir William, ii. 332, 411
  Colonel the Hon. Augustus, i. 192
Antrim, Dowager-Countess of, i. 242
Arabi Pacha, ii. 65, 132
Arch, Mr. Joseph, ii. 189, 227
Argyll, Duke of, i. 153, 359, 411, 416, 417, 421, 451, 456, 464; ii. 22, 69, 116, 119, 120, 121, 191, 401, 403
  Duchess of, i. 416, 419
Armellini, Father, i. 438
Arnold, Dr., i. 157, 371; ii. 389, 451, 452
  Matthew, i. 325
Arran, Earl of, ii. 265
Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H., ii. 394
Atherley-Jones, Mr., ii. 320
Atlay, Bishop, ii. 302

Bacon, Lord, ii. 371
  Sir James, i. 131, 291; ii. 164
Baker, Sir Samuel, ii. 133
Balfour of Burleigh, Lord, ii. 315
  Rt. Hon. Arthur, ii. 297, 365
Balfour, Charles, ii. 397
Barrington, Viscount, i. 75
Barrow, Mr., i. 378
Barry, Father, ii. 320
Batson, Mr., i. 1
Battenberg, H.R.H. Princess Henry of, ii. 161
Beaconsfield, Earl of, i. 25, 57, 58, 62-64, 66, 72, 76, 111, 152, 175, 310, 311, 313, 319, 331, 333, 342, 447, 449, 450, 455, 456, 458, 460, 464, 465, 476-480; ii. 1, 7, 10, 92, 98, 171, 238, 349, 367
Beaman, Mr. Charles, i. 248, 277
Beckford, William, i. 26
Bedford, Duke of, i. 35; ii. 181, 191
Bell, Nugent, i. 29-31, 33
  Professor, i. 8, 10; ii. 381
Benjamin, Mr., ii. 92, 94-96, 441, 444
Benson, Archbishop, i. 402, 461; ii. 90, 128, 168, 247, 263, 380, 382, 386, 398, 421-423
  Mrs., ii. 168, 381, 461
Bentinck, Lord George, i. 478
Bernard, Mountague, Rt. Hon., i. 212, 227, 228, 233, 243, 248, 251, 277, 325, 372
Berryer, Monsieur, ii. 95
Bessborough, Earl, ii. 11, 20
Bethell, Richard Sir: see *Westbury*, Lord
Bevan, Rev. R. A. C., ii. 155, 374
Biddulph, General Sir Robert, i. 454
  George Tournay, ii. 88, 125, 167, 267, 282, 292
  Colonel John, ii. 88
  Lady Wilfreda, i. 242, 260; ii. 88, 125, 129, 175, 213, 267, 278, 282, 292, 364, 378, 379, 389, 396, 403, 408
Bismarck, Prince, i. 181; ii. 128, 132
Blachford, Lord, i. 164, 252, 418, 421; ii. 164, 361
  Lady, ii. 324
Blantyre, Lord, i. 366

Bliss, Mr. W. H., ii. 282
Blomfield, Bishop, i. 381
Frederick, i. 394
Bluntschli, Professor, i. 255
Booth, Mr., i. 23
Bouverie, Rt. Hon. E. P., i. 310; ii. 181
Bovill, Sir William, i. 43, 301, 302, 324
Bowen, Lord, i. 329 ; ii. 86, 443
Bowyer, Sir George, i. 313
Boyl, Count de, i. 170, 177
Bradlaugh, Mr., i. 489-493 ; ii. 227, 250
Brand, Rt. Hon. Henry, i. 196
Brett, Sir Baliol : see *Esher*, Lord
Bright, Dr., ii. 461
Mr. Jacob, i. 165
Rt. Hon. John, i. 55, 56, 65, 66, 72, 112, 418, 486; ii. 41, 53, 54, 68, 70, 98, 177, 183, 215, 271, 314, 315, 361
Brisson, Monsieur, ii. 329
Broadhurst, Mr., ii. 250
Browne, Bishop Harold, ii. 254, 302, 335
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James, ii. 394
Buckingham, Duke of, ii. 315
Bulwer, Sir Henry : see *Dalling*, Lord
Bunsen, Mr. George, ii. 64, 347
Burdett, Sir Francis, i. 57
Burgon, Dean, i. 373
Burke, Mr., ii. 57, 315, 335
Miss, ii. 334
Burrows, Canon, ii. 374
Butt, Mr., ii. 21

Caird, Sir James, i. 475, 476
Cairns, Earl, i. 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 77, 154, 155, 198, 274, 288, 290, 300, 301, 303, 304, 308, 309, 311, 313, 314, 317, 331, 332, 333, 341, 344, 378, 379, 382, 445, 456, 472, 477 ; ii. 4, 29, 42, 43, 81, 95, 112, 114, 127, 157-159, 426, 430, 437, 440, 441
Campbell, Lord, i. 10, 477
Dr., i. 439 ; ii. 283
Bishop, ii. 249
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, ii. 409
Camperdown, Earl of, ii. 235, 239
Carbery, Lord, ii. 37
Cardwell, Viscount, i. 74, 81, 82, 94, 97, 112, 113, 134, 146, 189, 190-194, 293, 294, 321, 325, 331, 336, 344, 471, 480 ; ii. 15, 31, 241-245, 303
Lady, i. 480 ; ii. 31, 165, 244
Carey, James, ii. 58
Carlingford, Lord, i. 446 ; ii. 25, 28, 42, 54, 202
Carlisle, George Howard, seventh Earl of, i. 61 ; ii. 243, 321, 347
Bishop of : see *Waldegrave*, Samuel
Carnarvon, Earl of, i. 115, 173, 177, 333, 449, 460 ; ii. 128, 132, 407
Caroline, Queen, i. 26, 30, 31
Carter, Canon, i. 350
Mr. Bonham, i. 358
Cavagnari, Sir Louis, i. 456
Cavendish, Lord Frederick, ii. 52, 56, 57
Lady Frederick, ii. 390
Cayley, Professor, ii. 297
Cecil, Lady Maud : see *Wolmer*, Lady Maud
Lord Robert : see *Salisbury*, Marquis of
Lord Robert, i. 9 ; ii. 410
Lord William, ii. 265
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph, i. 488; ii. 47, 54, 190, 212, 230, 236-238, 253, 256, 262, 323, 445-447
Mrs., ii. 323
Champeaux, Monsieur Boivin, i. 181-189, 235
Charles, Sir Arthur, i. 379
Charley, Sir William, i. 313
Charlotte, Queen, i. 31
Chatham, Earl of, i. 29, 31-33 ; ii. 351
Chelmsford, Lord, i. 77, 288, 379, 419, 477
Chester, Bishop of, ii. 249
Chewton, Viscount, ii. 324
Childers, Rt. Hon. H. C. E., i. 58 ; ii. 90, 170, 190, 339
Christina, Queen, ii. 329
Church, Dean, i. 66, 252, 394
Churchill, Lord Randolph, ii. 230, 237, 251, 255, 256, 297
Clarence, Duke of (William), i. 29, 31
Duke of, Albert Victor, ii. 297, 373
Clarendon, Earl of, i. 87, 176-179, 209, 224, 232 ; ii. 342
Clark, Archdeacon, ii. 459
Clarke, Mr., ii. 373
Claughton, Bishop, i. 12, 73, 166, 192, 285, 441 ; ii. 289, 361, 376
Clay, Mr., i. 56, 65
Cockburn, Sir Alexander, i. 10, 27, 34, 112, 197, 227, 335-339, 241, 243, 244, 247-249, 255-257, 260, 263, 271, 273-288, 291, 301, 302, 307, 494, 495
Cohen, Arthur B., Q.C., i. 249, 277
Coke, Lord, ii. 369, 371, 372
Coleridge, Sir John Taylor, i. 101, 109, 127, 197, 228, 288, 339, 371
Lord, i. 58, 101, 105, 114, 119, 124, 196, 228, 288, 319, 324, 325, 328, 329, 493, 494 ; ii. 29, 31, 73, 95, 111, 159
Mr. Edward, i. 371
Collier, Sir Robert, i. 114, 196-198, 200, 379

Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse, ii. 202, 203, 209, 210, 213
Colville, Sir James, i. 197, 379
Connaught, H.R.H. Duke of, ii. 328, 382
H.R.H. Duchess of, ii. 328
Conington, Professor, i. 130 ; ii. 464
Consort, H.R.H. Prince, ii. 327
Cooke, Rev. S. R. Davies, ii. 388
Cosin, Bishop, i. 393
Courtney, Rt. Hon. Leonard, ii. 409
Cowley, Earl, i. 180
Cowper, Earl, ii. 49, 52, 56, 265
Cowper-Temple, Rt. Hon. William : see Mount-Temple, Lord
Cranborne, Viscount: see *Salisbury*, Marquis of
Viscount, ii. 265, 376
Viscountess: see *Salisbury*, Marchioness of
Cranworth, Lord, i. 112, 307 ; ii. 158
Crawford, Mr. Sharman, i. 137
Creighton, Bishop, ii. 365
Crewe, Lord, ii. 181
Crispi, Signor, ii. 286
Croke, Archbishop, ii. 235
Cross, Lord, i. 123, 197
(Sir Richard) ii. 129
Cumberland, Henry Frederick, Duke of, i. 27, 29, 30, 33
Curzon, Hon. George, ii. 279
Cushing, Mr., i. 248, 277

Dalling, Lord, i. 180 ; ii. 326, 327, 329
Dalton, Rev. E., i. 394
Dalgairns, Father, i. 411
Dana, Hon. R. H., i. 284
Darnell, Mr. Nicholas, i. 292
Daroch, Rev. Charles, ii. 456
D'Aubigné, Monsieur Merle, i. 245
Madame, i. 245
Davey, Lord, ii. 214, 440-444
Davidson, James L. Strachan, ii. 461-465
Davis, Mr. Bancroft, i. 236, 237, 240, 247, 277
Mrs. Bancroft, i. 247
Davitt, Mr. Michael, ii. 57, 313
Dawnay, Hon. Guy, ii. 144
Deane, Sir James Parker, ii. 370
De Grey, Lord : see *Ripon*, Marquis of
Denison, Rt. Hon. Evelyn, i. 196
Archdeacon, i. 396-398
Derby, Fourteenth Earl of, i. 56, 62, 63, 64, 75, 76, 110, 123, 130, 478
Fifteenth Earl of, i. 62, 206, 208, 209, 214, 218, 219, 224, 232, 448, 449, 450 ; ii. 105, 202, 279, 331
Devon, Earl of, i. 136 ; ii. 73, 181
Devonshire, Duke of, i. 331, 336, 462, 471, 472 ; ii. 30, 54, 98, 99, 137, 140, 144, 177, 178, 196, 202, 209, 212-214, 225, 229, 231-234, 237-240, 251, 256, 275, 331, 428
Digna, Osman, ii. 136, 145, 146
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles, ii. 190, 191
Dillon, Mr., ii. 51, 57, 263, 285, 338
Disraeli, Mr.: see *Beaconsfield*, Earl of
D'Itajubà, Viscount, i. 253, 255, 259, 269, 271, 273, 277
Dixon, Mr., i. 158, 162, 167
Dodson, Rt. Hon. J.; see *Monk-Bretton*, Lord
Don, O'Conor, ii. 20, 21, 23
Donoughmore, Earl of, ii. 43
Douglas-Pennant, Mr.: see *Penrhyn*, Lord
Dowse, Baron, ii. 21
Doyle, Sir Francis, i. 325
Dronsart, Marie, ii. 367
Ducie, Earl of, ii. 181
Dufferin, Earl of, i. 114, 141, 145
Duncombe, Dean, i. 350
Dundas, Hon. J. C., ii. 181
Dunkellin, Lord, i. 55
Durnford, Bishop, i. 127, 325

Eastley, Mr. J., ii. 368
Ebury, Lord, ii. 181
Edgelow, Dr., ii. 29
Egan, Mr., ii. 313
Egypt, Khedive of, ii. 65, 68, 133, 134
Elcho, Lord, i. 25
Eldon, Earl of, ii. 157
Elgin, Earl of, i. 430
Ellice, Rt. Hon. Edward, i. 364
Elliot, Hon. Arthur, ii. 209, 376
Ely, Bishop of, ii. 301
Emly, Lord, ii. 411
Enrique, Don, ii. 329, 330
Erle, Sir William, i. 8, 9, 10, 43, 81, 103
Lady, i. 8
Erskine, Mr., i. 172-175
Esher, Lord, i. 76, 173, 379
Evans, Sir John, i. 6
Evarts, Hon. W. M., i. 247, 277, 285 ; ii. 381
Mrs., i. 285
Eversley, Viscount, i. 18, 363; ii. 101

Faber, Rev. Frank, i. 14, 57, 72, 78, 79, 121, 350, 371
Farquhar, Sir Walter, ii. 380
Farrer, Lord, ii. 446, 447
Favrol, Monsieur, i. 277
Fearon, Dr., ii. 254
Field, Mr. Edwin Wilkins, i. 23
Finlay, Sir Robert, ii. 376
Finch, Joshua, ii. 368, 373, 374
Fish, Mr., i. 210-212, 219, 220

Fitzgerald, Lord, ii. 13, 18, 94
Mrs., of Shalstone, ii. 418
Edward, ii. 332
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond, i. 488; ii. 316
Fitzwilliam, Earl, ii. 181
Foljambe, Mrs., i. 439
Forget, Monsieur, i. 245
Forster, Rt. Hon. W. E., i. 157, 158, 166, 336, 488; ii. 9, 12, 15, 29, 30, 40, 42, 44, 46, 49, 50-52, 56, 69, 245, 313
Fortescue, Sir John, i. 47
Earl of, ii. 164, 181
Fowler, Sir Henry, i. 487; ii. 250, 391, 395
Sir Robert, ii. 346
Mr. William, i. 145-147
Francis, Carington, ii. 167
Francisco, Don, ii. 330
Fraser, Bishop, i. 127, 296; ii. 78, 79
Freeman, Professor, i. 457
Frere, Sir Bartle, i. 457; ii. 407, 408
Froude, Richard Hurrell, i. 338; ii. 345
J. A., ii. 388
Furze, Canon, ii. 322

Galiani, Abbé, i. 255
George III., i. 26, 27, 31, 32, 34
IV., i. 26, 31
Giffard, Sir Hardinge: see *Halsbury*, Lord
George Markham, i. 77
Giffen, Mr., ii. 207
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert, ii. 45, 48, 49, 250, 317, 396
Rt. Hon. William Ewart, i. 17, 39, 40, 41, 55, 56, 58-61, 64, 67, 68, 77-82, 84, 94, 96, 97, 101, 102, 110-116, 118-120, 122-124, 127, 128, 134, 135, 141, 143, 146-148, 150-153, 154, 155, 157, 165, 196, 198, 223, 231, 232, 235, 274, 280, 282, 283, 310, 311-313, 318, 319, 325-327, 329-331, 333, 334, 350, 351, 353-357, 360-362, 365, 366, 419, 447, 453-455, 459, 462, 464, 470, 471, 477, 480, 486, 487, 493; ii. 10, 17, 27-29, 31, 38, 45-49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 60-64, 68, 75, 77, 78, 83, 87, 89, 94, 98, 100, 105, 111, 115, 116, 119-122, 125, 128-131, 137, 139-141, 148, 153, 160, 172, 177, 178, 181-187, 190, 193-196, 201-203, 207, 209-215, 220, 221, 223-237, 239, 240, 243, 245-247, 250-252, 255, 261, 262, 265, 271, 274-277, 283-286, 299, 302, 304, 313, 314, 316-320, 323, 331, 332, 336-338, 340-360, 365, 367, 375, 376, 390-398, 400
Gladstone, Mrs., i. 366
William Henry, i. 366
Glynne, Miss, i. 366
Goldsmith, Oliver, ii. 351
Goodwin, Bishop Harvey, i. 127; ii. 368
Gordon, Hon. Sir Arthur: see *Stanmore*, Lord
General, ii. 125, 130, 133, 137, 138-147
Hon. George, ii. 267, 282, 292,
Sir Henry, ii. 125, 140-144
Hon. Lady, ii. 89, 295, 305
Gore, Lady Alice, ii. 263, 265
Canon, ii. 401
Gorst, Sir John, ii. 94
Gortschakoff, Prince, i. 450
Goschen, Rt. Hon. G. J., i. 325, 336, 488; ii. 98, 190, 214, 255, 256, 275, 297
Graham, Sir James, i. 37, 307; ii. 303
Mr., i. 242
Mrs., i. 242
Grant, Sir William, ii. 93
General, i. 210, 223
Granville, Earl, i. 179-181, 190, 211, 213, 220, 222, 227, 231-234, 239, 247, 249, 257, 274, 336, 366, 367, 373, 462, 471, 472, 480, 482; ii. 28, 30, 55, 65, 96, 137, 159, 164, 193, 196, 256, 277, 340, 368
Countess, i. 366, 367
Greece, King of, i. 178
Green, Rev. James Faithorn, ii. 74-79
Gregory, Sir William, i. 25
Grey, Edward C., i. 362
Sir Edward, ii. 72
Sir George, i. 123, 225; ii. 71
Earl, ii. 14, 181-183, 191, 219
Lady, ii. 72
May, Miss, i. 22 (Countess of Home)
Groot, i. 277
Grote, George, ii. 347
Groves, Mr., i. 30, 33
Guizot, Monsieur, i. 186; ii. 110, 326, 328-330
Gully, Rt. Hon. W., ii. 409
Gutch, Rev. C., ii. 374

Haddon, Thomas Henry, i. 252
Halifax, Viscount, i. 417, 418; ii. 176
Viscountess, i. 417
Hallett, Mr., ii. 369-372
Halsbury, Lord, i. 114, 314, 317; ii. 94, 428, 440
Hamilton, Duke of, i. 26
Lady Anne, i. 26
Lady Claud, ii. 320
Bishop, i. 127, 441
Mr. Eugene Lee, i. 248, 252, 277
Hannay, Major, ii. 328
Mrs., ii. 328

Harcourt, Sir William, i. 74, 97, 325, 352, 488; ii. 30, 67, 74, 77, 78, 86, 233, 250, 263, 279, 285, 300, 323, 333, 339, 393, 396
Lady, ii. 74
Harding, Sir John, i. 274
Hardy, Rt. Hon. Gathorne, i. 122, 311, 333, 448 (Earl of Cranbrook)
Hardwick, Lord, ii. 157
Hare, Augustus, i. 325
Harrowby, Earl of, i. 482
Hartington, Marquis of: see *Devonshire*, Duke of
Harwood, Mr. G., ii. 181
Hatherley, Lord, i. 47, 114, 181, 198, 213, 221, 232, 274, 280, 281, 286, 288, 300, 301, 340, 379; ii. 35, 95, 158
Lady, i. 286, 419
Hayes, Serjeant, i. 35
Hawkesbury, Lord, i. 219
Heathcote, Sir William, i. 100-102, 114, 115, 283, 284; ii. 35, 37
Helps, Sir Arthur, i. 191, 286
Henchman, Bishop, i. 393
Henley, Mr., i. 64, 65
Herbert of Muckross, i. 149
Mr. Edward, i. 170, 177
Mr. J. B., ii. 366
Hon. Sidney, ii. 303
of Lea, Lady, i. 439
Herschell, Lord, ii. 190, 213, 214, 340, 382, 426
Hervey, Lord Arthur, i. 127, 365
Hicks Pacha, ii. 134, 135, 145
Hobhouse, Lord, i. 131; ii. 164, 436-438, 446
Hollams, Mr. John, i. 47
Hook, Dean, i. 101
Hope, Rt. Hon. A. Beresford, i. 489
Horsman, Mr. E., i. 55
Hough, Bishop, ii. 301
Houghton, Lord, i. 450, 470; ii. 64, 347, 349
Howard, Rev. W. W., ii. 155
Hughes, Bishop, ii. 249
Thomas, ii. 181
Hunt, Rt. Hon. Ward, i. 325
Hutchinson, Mrs., i. 439
Hutton, Mr., i. 411

Iddesleigh, Earl of, i. 16, 212, 448; ii. 119, 255
Ismail Pasha, ii. 133, 135, 137
Italy, King of, ii. 286
Queen of, ii. 286

Jacquemyns, Monsieur Rolin, i. 255
James, Sir Henry, i. 324, 329, 472, 494; ii. 77-79, 86, 95, 189, 202, 206
James, Sir W.M., i. 47, 114, 131, 283, 301, 378, 379, 382; ii. 35, 440
Jelf, Canon, i. 12, 13, 345; ii. 155, 165
Jenkyns, Dr., ii. 462
Jennings, Mr., ii. 367
Jersey, Earl of, ii. 385
Jesse, Mr., i. 26, 31
Jessel, Sir George, i. 51, 288, 301, 308, 319, 320, 325, 328; ii. 92, 441
Jeune, Mr., i. 405
Johnson, Dean, i. 365
Dr., ii. 351
Mr. Reverdy, i. 209, 210, 224, 232
Mr. Andrew, i. 210
Jones, Bishop, ii. 249
Ernest, ii. 320
Joseph II., Emperor, ii. 351
Jowett, Professor, i. 325; ii. 384-386, 462, 464, 465

Karslake, Sir John, i. 43, 70
Kavanagh, Mr., i. 143; ii. 20, 21
Keble, Rev. John, i. 18, 127, 371; ii. 37, 176, 335, 345
Kelly, Sir Fitzroy, i. 301, 302, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 493, 495
Mr., i. 287
Kenney, Mr., i. 278
Kent, Duke of, i. 29, 30, 32
Kerr, Mother Henrietta, i. 428, 429
Lord Henry, i. 428
Khedive, the, ii. 65, 68, 124, 133, 134
Kimberley, Earl of, ii. 4, 6, 19, 20, 28, 339
King, Bishop, i. 399-401, 407; ii. 301
Kingsdown, Lord, i. 137
Knight-Bruce, Sir James, i. 42, 43, 381
Knowles, Mr, James, i. 411

Labouchere, Mr., i. 205; ii. 227, 237, 315, 316, 319, 393
Lacaita, Sir James, ii. 231
Mr., ii. 231, 235, 279
Lake, Dean, i. 325
Langley, Mr. Fitzroy, i. 248, 252, 278
Lansdowne, Marquis of, i. 490; ii. 316, 347
Latham, Dr., i. 292
Lawes, Mr., i. 475, 476
Lawrence, Lord, i. 456
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, ii. 379
Layard, Sir Henry, i. 24, 25; ii. 292
Lady, i. 25; ii. 292
Lear, Rev. Edward Denison, ii. 155
Leary, Rev. T., ii. 456
Lecky, Rt. Hon. W. H., ii. 351
Lefevre, Rt. Hon. George Shaw, i. 205, 208; ii. 84, 100, 101, 190, 284, 339
Sir John Shaw, i. 18, 19

Leo XIII., ii. 279-283, 286-289, 291, 356
Lesseps, Monsieur, ii. 67
Lewis, Bishop, ii. 249
Sir C., ii. 263
Sir George Cornewall, i. 59, 60, 330; ii. 347
Liddell, Dean, ii. 361
Liddon, Dr., ii. 89, 263, 335, 336
Lieven, Princess, ii. 342
Lifford, Lord, ii. 42
Lightfoot, Bishop, ii. 335
Hannah, i. 31, 33, 34
Lincoln, Bishop of: see *King*, Bishop
Lindley, Sir Nathaniel, ii. 439
Llewellyn, Sir John T. D., ii. 249
Lloyd, Mr., i. 170
London, Bishop of: see *Temple*, Bishop
Louis Philippe, King, ii. 326-330
Lowe, Robert: see *Sherbrooke*, Lord
Lowell, Hon. James Russell, i. 16
Lucas, Mr., i. 245
Lyndhurst, Lord, i. 42; ii. 157
Lyons, Lord, i. 205
Lyttelton, Lord, i. 122, 123
Lady, ii. 316
The Hon. Mary Catherine, i. 297
Lytton, Earl of, i. 456

M'Carthy, Mr. Justin, ii. 337
Macaulay, Lord, ii. 321, 341
Macdonald, Sir Archibald, ii. 88
Sir John, i. 212
Mackarness, Bishop, i. 127, 325; ii. 459, 460
Mackenzie, Kenneth Muir, ii. 29, 31, 156
Macmillan, Messrs., ii. 261
Magee, Bishop, i. 341-342
Magnus, Sir Philip, ii. 447, 449-451
Mahdi, the, ii. 134, 136, 139, 143, 145-147
Mahony, Pierce, ii. 43-45
Manning, Cardinal, i. 325, 435
Mar, Earl of, ii. 94
Marcet, Mr., i. 245
Maria Luisa, Infanta, ii. 326, 328, 329
Marindin, Mr. George, ii. 325
Markby, Sir William, ii. 385
Markheim, Mr., i. 248, 278
Marlborough, Duke of, ii. 7
Martineau, Dr., i. 411
Mayo, Earl of, i. 137
Mellish, Lord Justice, i. 301, 325, 378; ii. 96
Melly, Mr. George, i. 245
Melville, David, i. 166, 167
Lady Jane, i. 129
Merivale, Herman, i. 325
Miall, Mr., i. 134, 191
Mill, John Stuart, i. 58, 214
Milman, Dean, i. 325; ii. 347
Milton, John, ii. 389
Minto, Countess of, ii. 326
Moberley, Bishop, i. 127, 337, 345; ii. 176
Moncreiff, Lord, i. 313
Monk-Bretton, Lord, i. 488; ii. 54, 202
Montefiore, Sir Moses, ii. 33, 34
Montpensier, Duc de, ii. 328
Moore, Dr., i. 31
Morgan, Mr. Osborne, ii. 228
Morley, Bishop, i. 393
Rt. Hon. John, ii. 101, 201, 212, 221, 233, 250, 255, 284, 319, 337, 376
Earl of, ii. 315
Morris, Mr. O'Connor, i. 138, 140
Morshead, Mr. Frederick, i. 321
Motley, Hon. J. L., i. 210
Mount-Temple, Lord, i. 165; ii. 181
Mowbray, Sir John Robert, i. 102, 111, 125
Mozley, Dr. James, i. 1, 66, 338, 350
Muncaster, Lord, i. 172
Mundella, Mr., ii. 319

Naas, Lord: see *Mayo*, Earl of
Napoleon, Prince (Prince Imperial), i. 458
I., i. 219
Prince, i. 245
Naville, Monsieur, i. 245
Nelson, Earl, ii. 351
Newcastle, Duke of, ii. 243
Newman, Cardinal, i. 18, 164, 338, 418, 431, 439; ii. 72, 248, 281, 335, 345, 411
Mr. W. L., ii. 461, 462
Nicholson, Mr. Arthur, i. 278
Mr. William, ii. 188
Nicon, Patriarch, i. 436-438
Normanby, Marquis of, i. 57
Norris, Rev. W. Foxley, i. 168
Northbrook, Earl of, i. 456, 487, 488; ii. 28, 54, 130, 133, 178, 195, 196, 201, 202, 207, 213, 339
Northcote, Sir Stafford: see *Iddesleigh*, Earl of
Norton, Lord, i. 224; ii. 259, 264, 406
Nutty, Bishop, ii. 235
Nye, Mr. G. H. F., ii. 369, 371

Oakeley, Sir Herbert, i. 246
O'Brien, Mr., ii. 316, 338
O'Connor, Mr. T. P., ii. 200
O'Donnell, Mr., ii. 45, 48, 58
O'Hagan, Lord, i. 313
O'Kelly, Mr., ii. 51
O'Shea, Captain, ii. 45, 47-51
Oldfield, Miss Laura, i. 17
Ossington, Viscount, i. 309

Ouless, W., R.A., i. 290

Paget, Sir James, i. 245, 246
Dean, ii. 406
Pakington, Sir John, i. 63
Palles, Chief Baron, ii. 302
Palmer, Sir Archdale, ii. 71
Dorothea Richardson (mother of Lord Selborne), i. 15, 20, 21, 292, 293
Dorothea (sister of Lord Selborne), i. 293
Edwin (brother of Lord Selborne), i. 15, 17, 19, 20, 119, 130, 170, 197, 294, 296, 366, 394, 419, 421, 435, 438, 439-443 ; ii. 31, 38, 73, 126, 149, 165, 166, 172, 174, 273, 276, 292, 332, 333, 362, 374, 377, 382, 383, 385, 404-406, 411, 459-461, 486
Edwin James (nephew of Lord Selborne), ii. 73
Elizabeth (cousin of Lord Selborne), ii. 88
Emily (sister of Lord Selborne), i. 15 ; ii. 175, 282, 368, 374, 378, 408, 411
Emma (sister of Lord Selborne), i. 15, 292, 296, 297
George Horsley (brother of Lord Selborne), i. 1, 8, 9, 15 ; ii. 34, 155, 273, 291, 293, 328, 361
—— Mrs., i. 15, 433
Laura Elizabeth (daughter of Lord Selborne): see *Ridding*, Lady Laura
Mabel Laura Georgina (grand-daughter of Lord Selborne), ii. 155, 387
Mary Dorothea (daughter of Lord Selborne): see *Waldegrave*, Countess
Mary Richardson (sister of Lord Selborne), i. 20
Ralph Charlton (cousin of Lord Selborne), ii. 156, 378
Robert Stafford Arthur (grandson of Lord Selborne), ii. 155
Roundell Cecil (grandson of Lord Selborne), ii. 155, 263, 265, 274
Sarah Wilfreda (daughter of Lord Selborne): see *Biddulph*, Lady Wilfreda
Sophia Matilda (daughter of Lord Selborne), i. 242; ii. 33, 172, 248, 267, 281
William (brother of Lord Selborne), i. 15, 57, 78, 79, 81, 292, 427-443 ; ii. 173, 248, 276, 283
William Jocelyn (father of Lord Selborne), i. 1, 20, 21, 143, 292, 293 ; ii. 362
William Jocelyn Lewis (grandson of Lord Selborne), ii. 155

Palmer, William Waldegrave (son of Lord Selborne): see *Wolmer*, Viscount
Palmerston, Viscount, i. 41, 58, 60, 61, 178, 179 ; ii. 66, 243, 303, 326, 327, 329, 367 ; ii. 66, 329, 342
Parker, Dr., ii. 255, 265, 271
Parkes, Sir Henry, ii. 105-109
Parkins, William, i. 16, 17, 293
Parnell, Mr., i. 490 ; ii. 18, 29, 30, 39, 47, 49, 50-54, 57-59, 62, 171, 199, 201, 202, 207, 217, 232, 234, 253, 261, 265, 279, 299, 302, 312, 313, 315-318, 333-335, 337, 338, 353, 356
Parsons, Rev. Frederick, i. 11
Pasteur, Monsieur, i. 245
Madame, i. 245
Patten, Colonel Wilson : see *Winmarleigh*, Lord
Patteson, Sir John, i. 339
Payne, Mrs., i. 30
Captain, i. 30
Peacock, Sir Barnes, i. 197
Pearson, Bishop, i. 393
Peel, Sir Robert, i. 37, 38, 65, 245, 478 ; ii. 214, 242-244, 330
Lady Emily, i. 245
Pelham, Bishop, ii. 246
Penrhyn, Lord, i. 366
Penzance, Lord, i. 27, 34, 313 ; ii. 29, 78, 79, 181
Persico, Monseigneur, ii. 248, 281, 286, 288, 356
Petrie, Elizabeth, ii. 34
Phillimore, Sir Robert, i. 378, 379, 383 ; ii. 369, 370
Sir Walter, i. 381, 404 ; ii. 75, 370
Phillpots, Bishop, i. 127
Picton, Mr. ii. 206
Pierantoni, Signor, i. 255
Pigott, Richard, ii. 315, 316, 334
Pitt, William, i. 367
Plunket, Rt. Hon. David, i. 154
Pollock, Baron, i. 27, 34 ; ii. 433-435
Poutiatine, Augustine, i. 431, 439
Count, i. 430
Eugene, i. 431
Pritchard, Mr., i. 411
Purchas, Mr., i. 378, 379
Pusey, Dr., i. 104-106, 107, 108, 124, 128, 383-388, 393, 402 ; ii. 72, 260, 335, 345
Pym, Francis, 129
Jane Anne, i. 129

Raikes, Rt. Hon. H. C., ii. 297
Rainy, Dr., i. 356
Rampolla, Cardinal, ii. 280
Rayleigh, Lord, ii. 297
Redesdale, Lord, i. 305, 313, 373
Redmond, Mr., ii. 48

Reeve, Mr. Henry, ii. 162
Rendel, Mr., ii. 250
Rickards, Sir George, i. 8; ii. 361
Riddell, James, i. 15; ii. 461, 462
  Henrietta, i. 19
Ridding, Bishop, i. 296, 321, 458; ii. 91, 153, 154, 168, 254, 258, 278, 298, 367, 368, 384, 388, 389, 403, 405, 469
  Lady Laura, i. 13, 14, 17, 196, 242, 244, 246, 296, 458; ii. 91, 130, 154, 168, 251, 258, 272, 278, 298, 365, 367, 384, 387, 390, 397, 403, 405
Ridley, Sir M., ii. 409
Ridsdale, Mr., i. 379
Riley, Mr. Athelstan, ii. 400
Ripon, Marquis of, i. 178, 212, 232
  Marchioness of, i. 170, 178
Roberts, Mr. Russell, ii. 444
  General, i. 488
Robinson, Sir Hercules, ii. 5, 6
Rogers, Sir Frederick: see *Blachford*, Lord
Rolt, Sir John, i. 42, 43, 74, 75; ii. 440, 441
Romilly, Lord, i. 43, 112, 288, 301, 319, 320; ii. 435-437, 439, 441
  Mrs. Edward, i. 245
Rose, Rev. Edward, i. 350
Rosebery, Earl of, ii. 94, 132, 179, 196, 263, 285, 297, 300, 339, 375, 393, 394, 396-398, 425, 430
  Countess of, ii. 34, 125
Rosslyn, Earl of, ii. 157
Rothes, Henrietta, Countess of, i. 246; ii. 241
Roundell, Mr., ii. 142
  Charles, i. 139; ii. 96
Russell, Sir Charles, ii. 214, 334
  Earl, i. 40-42, 58, 64, 87, 88, 123, 205, 216-220, 224-226, 232, 264, 274, 278, 288, 419; ii. 303, 317, 326
  Countess, ii. 89, 326
Ryves, Lavinia Janetta, i. 26-29, 32-34

St. Albans, Bishop of: see *Claughton*, Bishop
St. Asaph, Bishop of, ii. 249
St. Leonards, Lord, i. 48, 288
Salisbury, Marquis of, i. 8, 9, 61, 63, 77, 103, 130, 290, 310, 325, 333, 371, 373, 374, 448, 449, 452, 460, 468; ii. 89, 101-103, 122, 124, 126, 127, 129, 157, 159, 171, 190, 203, 225, 228-230, 234, 238, 251, 255, 263, 297, 298, 314, 392, 394, 395, 425, 429
  Marchioness of, i. 8, 9
Salisbury, Bishop of: see *Wordsworth*, Bishop (John)
Salmon, Dr., ii. 382
Sancroft, Archbishop, i. 393
Sanderson, Sir Thomas, i. 248, 252, 278
Saxe-Coburg, Prince Ferdinand of, ii. 329
Schnadhorst, Mr., ii. 375, 390, 396
Schenck, General, i. 224
Schouvaloff, Count, i. 452, 455
Sclopis, Count, i. 237, 253, 259, 261, 263, 265, 269, 270, 272-273, 278, 280
Scott, James Hope, i. 195
  Sir Walter, ii. 151
Scott-Holland, Canon, ii. 322, 402, 406
Selborne, Lord. I.—Attempts to buy Mixbury, 1; buys the Temple estate, Selborne and Blackmoor, 2; building and planting, 4, 8; builds church at Blackmoor, 11-13; active interest in site for New Law Courts, 23-25; the case of Mrs. Ryves, 25-34; the *Pall Mall Gazette* criticises, 36-39; serves on Royal Commissions on the Neutrality Laws and Naturalisation, on the Marriage Laws of the United Kingdom, on evils connected with the division of Courts and jurisdictions, 44-46; his political position, 59-62; declines office of Lord Justice, 76; stands for Oxford, 101-109; returned for Richmond, 109; appreciations of, in the *Times*, 110, 133; refuses Chancellorship, 112, 113; refuses office of Lord Justice and Peerage, 113; action in connection with the University Tests Bill, 125, 126; depression and discouragement; contemplates retirement from the Bar, 131; speaks against Disestablishment, 191; speaks on the Abolition of Purchase in the Army, 192-195; visits in Scotland, 195; serves on Geneva Arbitration Tribunal, 227-229, 232-279; Lord Chancellor, 280-283; settles in new house at Blackmoor, 285; first Council at Balmoral, 286; gazetted as Lord Selborne, 287; congratulations, 287-293; visits Winchester, 293, 294, 320; family changes and visits, 296; the Judicature Act, 298-315; Bill on Land Titles and Transfer, 316, 317; judicial work, 219, 220; Jubilee of the Oxford Union Society, 325; Antrim Quarter Sessions, 361; elected Chairman of the Governing

Body of Winchester College, 363; birth of first grandchild, 363; visits in Scotland, 363, 364; visits to Wells, 365; Hawarden, 366; Walmer Castle, 367; connection with the Mercers' Company, 367-371; Chairman of the Second Oxford Commission, 371-376; the Folkestone Ritual Case, 377-393; member of Metaphysical Society, 410; contribution to "A Modern Symposium," 411-416; elected Rector of St. Andrews, 420; Inaugural Address, 421-426; speech on the Afghan Question, 457; second Chancellorship, 477

II.—Visits to Winchester, Farringford, and Wanlip, 70, 71; illness; driving tour, 73, 74; opening of New Law Courts, 82-87; accepts Earldom, 88; family marriages, 88, 89; work on the Rule Committee, 93, 94; relations with Liberal party, 96, 97; speech at Reading, 101-103; speech on Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, 111; reforms Lord Chancellor's department, 155, 156; death of Lady Selborne, 160-169; visit to Italy, 171-176, 267-270, 279-283, 286-295; Chairman of first House of Laymen, 245; work in the cause of Church Defence; *Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment*, 246-249, 398-401; in the Unionist cause, 252; at Winchester, 253, 254, 382; *Ancient Facts and Fictions*, 276, 373; Doctor of Law, 297; relations with Magdalen College, 300; relations with colleagues of 1885, 339; *Family and Personal Memorials*, 362; Gilbert White Centenary, 381; receives Honorary Degree at Dublin University, 382; speech against Home Rule, 383; visits Jowett, 385; sits to Mr. Watts, 391; influenza, 407; visit to Oxford, 411; last days, 411-414; death, 414; life and character, 414-418; funeral, 421; appreciations of; Legal Notes, 423-451; speech in support of the Oxford House, Bethnal Green, 451-456.

Views on: I.—Legal education, 47-54; popular applause, 57; Household Suffrage and the Reform Act, 1867, 62-71; Irish Church questions, 79-100, 114-120; rights of property, 140; first Irish Land Act, 143-156; Elementary Education Act, 159-163, 165-169; relations with Greece, 1870, 173-178; termination of Franco-German War, 181-190; Collier case, 197-201; relations with United States, 203-206; "Alabama" claims, 213-220; Treaty of Washington, 221-226; Geneva Arbitration, 284; Gladstone's seat for Greenwich, 327-330; English Church Union, 338-341; Public Worship Regulation Bill, 341-354; Scottish Church Patronage Bill, 357; Church legislation, 394-399; Bishop of Lincoln's case, 399-409; Royal Titles Bill, 444-447; Treaty of San Stefano, 450; acquisition of Cyprus, 453; Eastern Question, 459; Land Laws, 472-476; Burials Act, 481-486; Bradlaugh case, 491-493; general politics, 461-471

II.—Transvaal, 1881, 1-6, 130; legislation for Ireland, 12-17, 19, 22-27; Irish Land Act, 42, 43; negotiations with Nationalist leaders, 52; release of Irish suspects, 53, 56; Gladstone's Irish policy 1885, 1886, 193-214; Home Rule Bill, 219-222; British policy in Egypt and the Soudan, 67, 68, 123-125, 130, 133-149; Miles Platting case, 75-79; Parliamentary reform, 98-100; annexation of New Guinea, 103-109; Franchise and Redistribution Bills, 114-125, 127, 129, 130; "Stump Speeches," 126, 276; German claims in Fiji, 124, 128, 132; Gladstone's Midlothian address, 179-181; Disestablishment as a party cry, 181-187, 191; life, 234, 257, 264, 311, 377, 378, 397; Bishop of Lincoln's case, 301; Communion of Saints and the Future Life, 306-311; Parnell Commission, 312, 315, 333-335; Socialism, 321, 401, 406; French politics, 1845, 326-330; theology, 336; Church doctrine, 259-261, 388; Church reform, 365; the term "Reverend," 369; Parish Councils Bill, 386, 387; Apostolical Succession, 388; Church Defence, 398-401; testimonials, 405; general politics, 172-174, 190, 227-240, 261-263, 271, 274, 275, 279, 283-286, 302-304, 313-315, 316-320, 325, 331-335, 336-339, 364, 365, 375-377, 379, 390-398, 409

Letters of, to Lady Abercromby, ii.

236; to the Bishop of St. Albans, ii. 289; to the Duke of Argyll, ii. 118, 120, 121, 401; to Archbishop Benson, ii. 128, 168, 380, 386, 398; to Lady Wilfreda Biddulph, i. 260; ii. 125, 129, 175, 213, 278, 364, 378, 379, 396, 403, 408; to Lady Blachford, ii. 324; to the Earl of Camperdown, ii. 235, 239; to Lord Cardwell, i. 189, 193, 471; ii. 15, 31; to M. Boivin Champeaux, i. 182, 185; to Viscount Chewton, ii. 324; to the Rev. S. R. Davies Cooke, ii. 388; to his daughters, i. 21; to Archdeacon Denison, i. 397; to J. Eastley, Esq., ii. 368; to his sister Emily, ii. 175, 282, 368; to the Rev. Frank Faber, i. 14, 72; to Sir Walter Farquhar, ii. 380; to his father, i. 140; to Carington Francis, Esq., ii. 167; to Mr. Gladstone, i. 112, 113, 147, 148, 150, 153; ii. 48, 61, 62, 75, 105, 115, 183, 186, 203, 205; to Lord Granville, i. 222, 232; to Lord Hartington, ii. 231; to J. B. Herbert, Esq., ii. 366; to Sir Henry James, i. 472; to Mr. Jelf, i. 345-349; to Lord Kimberley, ii. 4; to George Marindin, ii. 325; to Canon Melville, i. 167; to the Master of the Mercers' Company, i. 369; to Sir Moses Montefiore, ii. 34; to the Rev. W. Foxley Norris, i. 168; to Lord Northbrook, ii. 196, 201; to Lord Norton, ii. 259, 260, 264, 406; to G. H. F. Nye, Esq., ii. 369; to the Rev. Edwin Palmer, i. 17, 294, 394-396; ii. 31, 126, 149, 166, 172, 174, 273, 362, 374, 377, 382, 383, 385, 404, 406; to the Rev. G. Horsley Palmer, ii. 273, 291, 293; to Mabel L. G. Palmer, ii. 387; to Mary Dorothea Palmer, i. 13; to Laura Elizabeth Palmer, i. 14; to Ralph C. Palmer, Esq., ii. 378; to Lady Sophia Palmer, i. 464; ii. 125, 226, 263, 337, 338; to Sir Henry Parkes, i. 106; to Dr. Pusey, i. 384; to Lady Laura Ridding (Laura Elizabeth Palmer), i. 14; ii. 130, 251, 258, 272, 278, 298, 365, 367, 384, 387, 397, 403; to Athelstane Riley, Esq., ii. 400; to Mr. Charles Roundell, ii. 97; to Lord Russell, i. 216; to Lady Selborne, i. 131, 239, 353; ii. 159; to Lord Sherbrooke (Right Hon. Robert Lowe), i. 275, 276; to Goldwin Smith, Esq., ii. 173, 225, 273, 304, 336; to Lord Stanmore (the Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon), i. 58, 155, 333, 361, 362, 363, 399, 458, 465, 487; ii. 30, 59, 89, 91, 110, 123, 124, 127, 131, 166, 189, 210, 227, 234, 237, 250, 255, 257, 261, 262, 265, 270, 276, 278, 283, 298, 301, 305, 323, 326, 367, 373, 375, 388, 393, 399, 400, 407; to Lord Tennyson, ii. 32, 150, 191; to Lady Tennyson, ii. 410; to the Rev. John Vaughan, ii. 249; to the Countess Waldegrave (Mary Dorothea Palmer), i. 13, 297; ii. 110, 323, 338, 384, 396, 409; to Lady Margaret Waldegrave, ii. 374; to Wilfrid Ward, Esq., ii. 410; to the President of Magdalen (Warren), ii. 300; to H. C. Wilkins, Esq., i. 493; to Viscount Wolmer (William Waldegrave Palmer), i. 461-464; ii. 206, 209, 391; to M. Zaimis, i. 174; to ——, i. 491; ii. 145, 182, 275, 286, 290

Poems, translations, and adaptations, i. 13, 36, 277, 294, 367, 455; ii. 269, 346, 422, 421, 469-489

Selborne, Countess of, i. 18-21, 79, 94, 97, 119, 120, 126, 131-133, 234, 238, 239, 242, 244-246, 291-294, 353, 363, 462; ii. 28, 87, 88, 110, 126, 159-168, 258, 272, 278, 305, 361, 417

Selwyn, Bishop, i. 77, 78, 130, 419, 420

Mrs., ii. 342

Lord Justice, i. 24, 43, 76, 77, 130; ii. 434, 440

William, i. 130

Serres, Dominic, i. 27, 28

Mrs., i. 27-33

Seward, Mr., i. 207-210

Sewell, Dr., i. 109

Shaftesbury, Earl of, i. 341; ii. 81

Shairp, Principal, i. 420, 421

Shaw, Mr. Benjamin, i. 379

Mr., ii. 21

Sheldon, Archbishop, i. 393

Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, ii. 408

Sherbrooke, Viscount, i. 51, 55-57, 62, 66, 72, 112, 119, 181, 250, 275, 276, 284, 293, 294, 321, 326-328, 336; ii. 361, 377

Shere Ali, Ameer, i. 456

Sheridan, Mr., ii. 51

Shorthouse, Mr., ii. 248, 426

Shuttleworth, Sir James Kay, i. 157

Smith, Sir Montague, i. 197, 379

Goldwin, i. 18, 101, 282; ii. 173, 225, 273, 304, 336, 389

Somers, Lord, ii. 157
Somerset, Duke of, ii. 181
Spain, Queen of, ii. 326-330
Spedding, Mr., ii. 371
Spencer, Earl, i. 139, 487, 488; ii. 20, 28, 42, 44, 52, 53, 56, 59, 171, 193, 195, 196, 201, 204, 210, 211, 213, 237, 256, 263, 277, 334, 340
Staempfli, Monsieur, i. 253, 256, 258, 259, 262-264, 269, 270, 278
Stanhope, Earl, i. 325
Stanley, Arthur, Dean of Westminster, i. 98, 455; ii. 35-37
Mr. H. M., ii. 138
Lord: see *Derby*, fifteenth Earl of
Stanmore, Lord, i. 18, 19, 58, 60, 87, 155, 204, 205, 324, 333, 357, 361, 362, 399-409, 458-461, 465-469, 487-490; ii. 30, 59, 89, 103, 110, 123, 127, 131, 166, 189, 210, 227, 234, 237, 250, 255, 261, 265, 270, 276, 278, 283-286, 292, 295, 298, 301-304, 305-322, 323, 326-336, 367, 373, 375-377, 388-390, 393-396, 399-401, 407
Stephen, Mr. Justice, ii. 219
James Fitz-James, Sir, i. 379
Stephens, Dean, ii. 447
Dr., i. 379
Stewart, Sir Herbert, ii. 130, 149
Stokes, Sir G. G., ii. 297
Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord, i. 430; ii. 317
Stuart, Sir John, i. 43, 137
Miss, i. 366
Stubbs, Bishop, ii. 302, 465
Sumner, Bishop, i. 127
Mr. i. 210, 229
Sussex, Duke of, i. 29

Tabley, Lord de, ii. 181
Tait, Archbishop, i. 112, 129, 325, 483, 484; ii. 33, 74, 76, 79-82, 84, 112, 129, 292, 325, 337, 365, 402
Mrs. i. 292
Talbot, Lord, ii. 158
Bishop, i. 126, 394; ii. 300, 390
Rt. Hon. John G., i. 120
Taylor, Bishop Jeremy, ii. 37
Temple, Bishop, i. 127, 128, 402; ii. 263, 301, 302, 423, 431
Tennant, Sir Charles, ii. 333
Tennyson, Mr. Hallam, ii. 89, 410
Lord, i. 411, 421; ii. 32, 70, 71, 89, 150, 151, 191, 418
Lady, ii. 70, 410
Tenterden, Lord, i. 227, 228, 233, 235, 236, 240, 241, 243, 246, 248, 250, 278
Thomas, Mr. Brodrick, i. 8
Thornton, Sir Edward, i. 212
Thorold, Bishop, ii. 302, 422
Thurlow, Lord, ii. 157
Titoff, Monsieur, i. 430
Tollemache, Lord, ii. 119
Torrens, Mr. M'Cullagh, i. 192, 193
Trappani, Count, ii. 330
Trench, Archbishop, i. 115, 118
Trevelyan, Sir G. O., ii. 256, 266, 271, 279, 300
Trevor, Canon, i. 72
Tulloch, Principal, i. 420
Turner, Lord Justice, i. 43, 44
Twisleton, Edward, i. 289, 325

United States, President of, i. 224, 240

Valentia, Lord, ii. 414
Vaughan, Rev. John, ii. 249
Victoria, Queen, H.M., i. 80, 112, 113, 281, 283, 286, 446, 477, 485; ii. 29, 31, 63, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 94, 160, 167, 178, 227, 238, 299, 320, 327-329, 374, 425
Governor of, i. 273
Villiers, Hon. Frank, i. 249, 278
Virtue, Bishop, ii. 281, 288, 289
Vyner, Mr. Frederick, i. 170, 178

Waite, Mr., i. 248, 278
Waldegrave, Countess, i. 13, 14, 17, 242, 296, 297, 458; ii. 73, 110, 323 338, 384, 396, 406, 409
Earl, i. 6, 296, 458; ii. 389, 410
Lady Elizabeth, i. 21
Lady Margaret, ii. 374
Samuel, Bishop, i. 79, 129, 130
Wales, H.R.H. Prince of, i. 296; ii. 83, 87, 161, 297, 382, 451
Prince of (George), i. 28, 30, 33, 34
Walker, Mr., ii. 447-449
Dr., i. 166-168
Walpole, Rt. Hon. Spencer, ii. 316, 317
Walsh, Archbishop, ii. 286
Walter, John, ii. 165, 312, 313, 316
Walton, Mr., ii. 261
Ward, William George, i. 411; ii. 70
Mr. Wilfrid, ii. 71, 410
Warman, Rev., ii. 155
Warren, Dr., ii. 300
Warwick, George Greville, Earl of, i. 29, 30, 32, 33
Waterford, Marquis of, ii. 43
Waterhouse, Mr. Alfred, i. 11, 133
Watts, G. F., R.A., ii. 391
Mrs., ii. 391
Wayte, Mr., i. 101
Webster, Sir Richard, ii. 312, 316
Wellington, Duke of, ii. 330

Wensleydale, Lord, i. 34-36, 307
Lady, i. 35
Wesley, Rev. John, ii. 72, 73
Westbury, Lord, i. 23, 37, 52, 112, 230, 231-233, 257, 288, 301-304, 316, 317, 322, 323; ii. 93, 157, 437
Westminster, Duke of, ii. 181, 191
Whately, Archbishop, i. 61, 155, 156; ii. 305, 341
Wheaton, Mr., i. 255
Whitbread, Mr. William, i. 242
Mr. Samuel, i. 291
White, Gilbert, i. 2, 10; ii. 381, 382
Wickens, Sir John, i. 114, 301, 320, 324, 325; ii. 433, 434, 441
Wilberforce, Bishop, i. 123, 127, 285, 311, 312, 321-323; ii. 343, 345
Canon, ii. 379
Mr. R., ii. 91
Wilde, Sir James: see *Penzance*, Lord
Wilkes, John, i. 57
Wilkins, Mr. H. C., i. 493
Willes, Sir James, i. 286; ii. 435
Williams, Dr., i. 9
Wills, Sir Alfred, i. 245, 246
Wilmot, Anna Maria, i. 27, 33
Sir Eardley, i. 109
James, i. 28-32
Sir J. E., i. 109
Robert, i. 27, 28, 33
Rev. E. A. Eardley, i. 109
Winchester, Dean of, ii. 285
Winmarleigh, Lord, i. 225
Winterbotham, Mr. Henry, i. 159, 162
Wolmer, Viscount, i. 242, 278, 287, 420, 461; ii. 38, 89, 90, 131, 187, 202, 206-210, 225, 263, 274, 337, 368, 375, 377, 384, 391, 394, 397, 400, 403, 405, 408
Lady Maud, ii. 89, 167, 252, 263, 274, 368, 405, 408
Wolseley, Viscount, ii. 130, 144, 147-149
Wood, Eleanor, i. 15, 295
Sir Evelyn, ii. 5, 6, 263
Hon. Charles, i. 418; ii. 74, 78, 181, 191
Rev. Cyril, i. 15
Samuel Francis, i. 418
Sir William Page, i. 43, 77, 78, 81, 112, 113
Wordsworth (Charles), Bishop, i. 441, 455; ii. 289, 361
(Christopher), Bishop, i. 337, 441; ii. 153, 370
(John), Bishop, ii. 149, 301, 302
William, ii. 152
Wortley, Rt. Hon. James Stuart, i. 313
Wright, Sir Robert, ii. 385, 386
Lady, ii. 386
Wynn, Sir Watkin, ii. 228

York, Archbishop of, ii. 86, 129
Young, Lord, i. 329

Zaimis, M., i. 172-175
Zebehr, ii. 139, 141, 144
Zetland, Earl of, i. 81, 101, 132

THE END

Printed by R. & R. CLARK, LIMITED, *Edinburgh.*

MEMORIALS.

PART I.—FAMILY AND PERSONAL.

1766-1865.

By ROUNDELL PALMER, Earl of Selborne.

In Two Volumes. With Portraits. Demy 8vo. 25s. net.

GUARDIAN.—"Our readers will find in them much illustration of modern history, besides the evidence they give of the clear judgment, perfect integrity, and unswerving religious principle of the writer. Lady Sophia has admirably discharged the part of an editor, allowing her father to tell his own tale with the smallest possible amount of apt annotation, and interposing in the proper place such illustrative letters and papers as have subsequently come into her hands."

TIMES.—"In these early memorials the curious and persevering reader will find vivid and intimate sketches of a notable family, of a happy boyhood, of schoolboy days divided between Rugby and Winchester, of a brilliant academical career, and of an early manhood marked by serious aims and high purposes to be in the sequel abundantly and conscientiously fulfilled. . . . Full of varied interest; and, if space permitted, we should find it easy and pleasant to make copious extracts. 'During the five years,' as he says, 'of my service as one of the law officers, the most important part of our duties was to advise the Government upon international questions arising out of the American Civil War.' Lord Selborne's comments on these topics are no insignificant contribution to the political and international history of the time. The case of the Alabama is, of course, the most famous and the most important; but several others are full of interest, and Lord Selborne treats their history with conspicuous candour and impartiality. . . . They abound in sources of general and personal interest. In literary execution, moreover, their merit is considerable. . . . We shall await the sequel of these two volumes with no little interest. In the meanwhile we may say that not the least skilfully wrought and attractive of Lord Selborne's pages are those in which he estimates the characteristics of some of his leading political and professional contemporaries."

MORNING POST.—"It exhibits from the inner side a singularly steadfast, industrious, and upright life, that cannot fail to command admiration . . . She is to be congratulated on having so far accomplished her laborious task in a manner that is evidently in accordance with Lord Selborne's wishes."

STANDARD.—"In all that Lord Selborne recalls of his Oxford life and of the great religious controversies which were just then beginning, there is a fresh and a living personal element, which distinguishes these volumes very favourably from many others of the same kind."

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.—"Lady Sophia Palmer has done the work of preparing these memorials for the press with conscientious care."

SPEAKER.—"It has a very high historical value as well as a biographical interest—the latter interest including some graphic sketches of eminent contemporaries—and on certain historical points it promises to be an authority of the highest importance."

PALL MALL GAZETTE.—"The Victorian era is peculiarly rich in reminiscences of this class, but few are more varied or judicial. As we go on the interest grows, and the utterances become more weighty. It is only natural to expect that the process will be continued in Part II., which will be eagerly expected."

Now Ready. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.

LETTERS TO HIS SON ON RELIGION.

GUARDIAN.—"The little book may be safely commended as supplying many useful cautions and suggestions as regards those sceptical difficulties and objections which may be met with in the very miscellaneous reading offered in these days to young people."

CHURCH TIMES.—"There is, we need scarcely say, abundance of sound doctrine put in a plain, common-sense way."

RECORD.—"Besides their intrinsic worth as an able defence of the existence of God and the Inspiration of the Bible, they have special value as the work of one of the most acute and logical minds of the century. Few young men of ordinary ability and education could do other than read with deference and respect the arguments and convictions of the great Lord Chancellor, whose consistent Christian life gave weight to his opinions. The present Earl has conferred a benefit on the youth of this generation by the publication of the letters, which may, and we hope will, preserve many an undergraduate from lightly accepting views which are certain to be pressed upon his attention."

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.—"These letters, written by one who was accustomed to test the value of arguments and to weigh his words before he spoke, ought to exercise a wide influence for good if they are put into the hands of men who are disturbed by the various modern theories, especially of Biblical criticism, which Lord Selborne undertook to investigate."

SPEAKER.—"The argument is most useful and most ingenious when it explains seeming inconsistencies between the Scriptures themselves, and between the Scriptures and statements put forward on behalf of science, history, and philology."

PALL MALL GAZETTE.—"The name of Lord Selborne itself is a guarantee that these letters will be worthy of a careful and serious perusal. . . . The work of a scholarly and reverent mind, and a wise parent could not do better than present to his child, at the critical age when guidance on religion is specially required, a copy of Lord Selborne's *Letters to his Son*."

GLOBE.—"The style is clear, the reasoning simple, the tone admirably devout and fair. The work is one which may well be placed in the hands of a youth old enough to busy himself with the serious matters of which it treats. By such it will be found eminently suggestive and stimulating."

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON.

WORKS BY THE EARL OF SELBORNE.

A DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AGAINST DISESTABLISHMENT. With an Introductory Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

TIMES.—"To say that the argument advanced in this important treatise is weighty, judicious, temperate, learned, and cogent, is only to say that it is the work of Lord Selborne. . . . All friends of the Church, and indeed all its candid and fair-minded opponents, should lose no time in devoting to Lord Selborne's book the study and attention it deserves. It is written with moderation and forbearance, but with just and rational confidence in the strength of a strong case."

GUARDIAN.—"Lord Selborne's *Defence* is fully worthy of the author's great reputation. It is a work which should be not only in the hands, but in the heads, of all who are interested in the maintenance of the Establishment."

ANCIENT FACTS AND FICTIONS CONCERNING CHURCHES AND TITHES. By ROUNDELL, EARL OF SELBORNE. Second Edition, with a Supplement containing Remarks on a recent History of Tithes. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

TIMES.—"Unpretending, learned, accurate, painstaking, impartial. It is a valuable, almost necessary, supplement to Lord Selborne's previous work. It will be an aid to the ecclesiastical historian, and, not its least merit, it shows how a scrupulous mind prepares itself for engaging in a momentous controversy."

THE BOOK OF PRAISE. From the best English Hymn Writers. Selected and arranged. Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

[*Golden Treasury Series.*

GUARDIAN.—"There is not room for two opinions as to the value of the Book of Praise. It is something quite different from a new hymnal, which means for the most part another small book to be placed on a long shelf with many brethren which are neither much better nor much worse than itself. It will be an authority in matter of dispute, a text-book in case of various readings."

SATURDAY REVIEW.—"As might be expected from so distinguished a scholar, the selection has been made throughout with sound judgment and critical taste."

A HYMNAL. Chiefly from 'The Book of Praise.' In various sizes. *A*, Royal 32mo, 6d. *B*, 18mo, Larger type, 1s. *C*, Pott 8vo, 1s. 6d. An Edition set to Music. Selected, harmonised, and composed by JOHN HULLAH. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S STANDARD BIOGRAPHIES.

LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY FROM ST. AUGUSTINE TO JUXON. By the Very Rev. WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D. Dean of Chichester. Demy 8vo. The Volumes are sold as follows: Vol. I., 15s.; Vol. II., 15s.; Vol. V., 15s.; Vols. VI. and VII., 30s.; Vol. VIII., 15s.; Vol. X., 15s.; Vol. XI., 15s.; Vol. XII., 15s.

LIFE OF ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. By RANDALL THOMAS, Bishop of Rochester, and WILLIAM BENHAM, B.D., Hon. Canon of Canterbury. With Portraits. Third Edition. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 10s. net.

CATHARINE AND CRAUFURD TAIT, WIFE, AND SON OF ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: A Memoir. Edited by Rev. W. BENHAM, B.D. Crown 8vo. 6s. Popular Edition. Abridged. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

CYPRIAN: HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES, HIS WORK. By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. 8vo. 21s. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM JOHN BUTLER, late Dean of Lincoln and sometime Vicar of Wantage. With Portraits. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. By his Son, ARTHUR FENTON HORT, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. With Portraits. Extra crown 8vo. 17s. net.

THE LIFE OF CARDINAL MANNING, ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. By EDMUND SHERIDAN PURCELL. With Portraits. Fourth Thousand. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF DEAN CHURCH. Edited by his Daughter, MARY C. CHURCH. Globe 8vo. 5s.

JAMES FRASER, SECOND BISHOP OF MANCHESTER: A Memoir. By T. HUGHES, Q.C. Crown 8vo. 6s.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF E. A. FREEMAN. By W. R. W. STEPHENS. 2 vols. 8vo. 17s. net.

DEAN HOOK: HIS LIFE AND LETTERS. Edited by the Very Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Winchester, Author of "Life of St. John Chrysostom," etc. The POPULAR EDITION. 1 vol. Crown 8vo. With Index and Portraits. 6s.

LETTERS AND MEMORIES OF THE LIFE OF CHARLES KINGSLEY. Edited by his WIFE. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s. Cheap Edition. 1 vol. 6s.

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT. Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*. With a Prefatory Note by the Bishop of Durham. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

LIFE OF FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE. By his Son, F. MAURICE. 2 vols. 8vo. 36s. Popular Edition. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 16s.

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. A Memoir. By his SON. With Photogravure Portraits of LORD TENNYSON, LADY TENNYSON, etc. Facsimiles of portions of Poems, and Illustrations after pictures by G. F. WATTS, R.A., SAMUEL LAURENCE, MRS. ALLINGHAM, RICHARD DOYLE, BISCOMBE GARDNER, etc. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 36s. net.

THE LETTERS OF MATTHEW ARNOLD, 1848-1888. Collected and Arranged by GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 15s. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF EDWARD THRING. By GEORGE R. PARKIN, M.A. With Portraits. 2 vols. Extra crown 8vo. 17s. net.

A MEMORY OF EDWARD THRING. By J. H. SKRINE. Crown 8vo. 6s.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S STANDARD BIOGRAPHIES

LIFE OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY FROM HIS CONSECRATION TO DEATH. By the Rev. R. Francis Davis, D.D., Dean of Westminster. [illegible] 2 vols. [illegible]

LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP LAURENCE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. By Reginald Thomas Bullock, Rector of Lamberhurst, and William Benham, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. [illegible] net.

CATHARINE AND CRANMER: THE WIFE AND THE ARCHBISHOP OF ENGLAND. LAURENCE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. A Memoir. Edited by the Rev. W. Benham, D.D. Crown 8vo. With Portrait. [illegible]

CHURCH AND LIFE IN THE ENGLISH VILLAGE. By Edward Vansittart Bowlby, M.A., Author of "Parochialia," etc. [illegible]

LIFE AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM JOHN BUTLER, late Dean of Lincoln and sometime Vicar of Wantage. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. [illegible]

LIFE AND LETTERS OF FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., [illegible] By his Son, Arthur Fenton Hort, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. With Portrait. Extra crown 8vo. [illegible]

THE LIFE OF CARDINAL MANNING, ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. By Edward Samuel Purcell. With Portrait. Fourth Thousand. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF DEAN CHURCH. Edited by his Daughter, Mary C. Church. Crown 8vo. 6s.

JAMES FRASER, SECOND BISHOP OF MANCHESTER: A Memoir. By T. Hughes, Q.C. Crown 8vo. 6s.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF E. A. FREEMAN. By W. R. W. Stephens. 2 vols. 8vo. [illegible] net.

DEAN HOOK: HIS LIFE AND LETTERS. Edited by the Very Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Winchester, Author of "Life of St. John Chrysostom," etc. The Popular Edition. 1 vol. Crown 8vo. With Index and Portrait. 6s.

LETTERS AND MEMORIES OF THE LIFE OF CHARLES KINGSLEY. Edited by his Wife. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s. Cheap Edition. 1 vol. 6s.

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT. Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*. With a Prefatory Note by the Bishop of Durham. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

LIFE OF FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE. By his Son, F. Maurice. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s. Popular Edition. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 16s.

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. A Memoir. By his Son. With Photogravure Portraits of Lord Tennyson, Lady Tennyson, etc. Facsimiles of portions of Poems, and Illustrations after pictures by G. F. Watts, R.A., Samuel Laurence, Mrs. Allingham, Richard Doyle, Boscombe Gardner, etc. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 36s. net.

THE LETTERS OF MATTHEW ARNOLD, 1848-1888. Collected and Arranged by George W. E. Russell. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 15s. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF EDWARD THRING. By George R. Parkin, M.A. With Portraits. 2 vols. Extra crown 8vo. 17s. net.

A MEMORY OF EDWARD THRING. By J. H. Skrine. Crown 8vo. 6s.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON.